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ABSTRACT

A synchronic structural description is presented of Haitian Creole as spoken in the Port-au-Prince-Jacmel area, concentrating mainly on phonology and morphology. Historical information and commentary are presented on diglossia and illiteracy, two intertwining sociolinguistic problems of Haiti. A detailed analysis is presented of the Creole sound system, including exemplification and discussion of the phonemics and phonetics of the Port-au-Prince dialect. Front rounded vowels, affricates and nasals, and the systematization of descriptive features are discussed. A structural and functional analysis of the Creole form-classes is presented, and the determiner, the adverb, the verb, and the copula are given definitions and treatment in the analysis. Sixty pages of Creole texts in phonemic transcription are presented and annotated with sociolinguistic comments. (SW)

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HAITIAN CREOLE

SOUND-SYSTEM, FORM-CLASSES,

TEXTS

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IN MEMORIAM

To my father and everlasting inspirer, Alphonse Murville-Férère, an extraordinary educator who gave 50 years of his life to the children of Haiti.

DEDICATION

With love and devotion to the four cardinal points of my life my mother Andrée, my wife Nancy, my children Magali and Rachel.

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I am deeply grateful to Professor John G. Fought whose dedicated teaching and expert guidance have made this study possible, and to my friend Bruce L. Johnson who spent with me an unaccountable amount of hours discussing issues and solutions. I offer special thanks to my informants for their patient cooperation, and to Professor Maurice A. Sixto for the interesting anecdotes presented as sample texts.

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PREFACE

In this study, I present a synchronic structural description of Haitian Creole as spoken in the Port-au-Prince-Jacmel area, concentrating mainly on phonology and morphology. I do not adopt any one view of the definition, classification, or origins of the language. In Part A, however, I discuss these aspects briefly, and offer some historical information as well as comments on two intertwining sociolinguistic problems of Haiti: diglossia and illiteracy.

Part B is a detailed analysis of the Creole sound-system. It includes abundant exemplification and discussion not only of the phonemics, but also of the phonetics of the Port-au-Prince dialect. Some of the major issues are seen in the light of sociolinguistics. Thus, although previous analyses of Haitian Creole have excluded from discussion the front rounded vowels (on the grounds that they were used only in gallicisms -- a methodology unacceptable to synchronic linguistics), my observations, on the contrary, lead me to conclude that they are an integral part of the phonemics of the Port-au-Prince dialect. Notice also in Part B the discussion of the affricates and nasals, along with the systematization of descriptive features.

Part C is a structural and functional analysis of the Creole form-classes. I do not deal with word-formation processes, since I believe that -- at the present stage of the language, and in light of their lack of productivity -- they are better approached diachronically. Instead, I have concentrated my efforts on a new organization of the classes. For example, the determiner, the adverb, the verb, and the copula are given novel definitions and treatment.

The class of determiner in this analysis includes in one class items that have traditionally been treated separately, such as possessive adjectives, possessive pronouns, and personal pronouns, all of which are closely related. It is quite unnecessary, even misleading, to establish distinct classes for forms having not only common meanings, but also common or closely related morphological structures, and furthermore complementary or non-contrastive functions.

Likewise, in the analysis of the adverb, I have avoided (mainly by separating the adverb from the intensifier) the over-inclusiveness and heterogeneity found in traditional grammar. Also, the realities of the language as currently spoken have forced upon me a perhaps somewhat iconoclastic approach to the extremely elaborate aspectual system of the Creole verb. The copula, in turn, is analyzed in detail in view of its peculiar instability.

Sixty pages of Creole texts in phonemic transcription, annotated with sociolinguistic comments, constitute Part D. I have not used any of the all too numerous conventional orthographies that have been proposed for Haitian Creole, as I believed that each of them in its own way would be counter-productive, and lessen the value of the structural information made available by an objective phonemic system.

Gerard Alphonse Ferere

A. INTRODUCTION

1. SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

It is my intention to present in this study a synchronic structural description of Haitian Creole, concentrating mainly on phonology and morphology. This task does not require the adoption of any one view of the definition, classification, or origins of creoles. However, in this introduction, while providing, in capsule form, some basic historical information, I will try to review and evaluate some aspects of diachronic research on creoles, and comment on two important intertwining sociolinguistic problems of Haiti: diglossia and illiteracy.

2. DEFINITION AND DIALECTS OF HAITIAN CREOLE

Haitian Creole, to which I shall refer sometimes simply as Creole or Haitian, is the native language of the more than four million inhabitants of the Republic of Haiti, the western third of the island of the same name, in the Caribbean Sea. All those who have previously analyzed it, native speakers and foreign linguists, seem to agree that geographically, it can be classified into three main varieties: the dialect of the North, the dialect of the South, and the dialect of the West or Port-au-Prince - Jacmel area. This is, for instance, the position adopted explicitly by Hall who claims to describe Haitian Creole "*as spoken especially in Port-au-Prince and in the valley of the Goseline.*" (Hall 1953:11). So far, there have been no synchronic descriptions or contrastive sketches establishing the exactness of this separation. It is not precisely known how deeply the differences go, or whether there should be more than a three way division. As a native speaker of the dialect of Port-au-Prince who has also extensively travelled through the North and the South, I can testify that all the dialects of Haitian Creole, however many they may be are mutually intelligible to the highest degree. Their basic structures seem to be identical, most of the differences lying mainly in vocabulary items, in sub-phonemic details, and in intonation contours. Although geographically the three apparent dialect areas seem to share the territory equally, this is not true demographically, since the Department of the West, where Port-au-Prince is located, has a population of more than 1,500,000 from a total of 4,000,000 inhabitants in the whole country.

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Haiti's historical background is extremely diversified. Some comments must be made on the relative importance of the respective contributions made by the three different and unrelated groups of early inhabitants: the Indians, the Africans and the Europeans.

3.1 The Indians

At the time of the discovery of the island by Columbus in 1492, its inhabitants were Indians; less than 15 years after Columbus' arrival, most of them had been exterminated: the historian Dantès Bellegarde tells us (Bellegarde 1938:52) that in 1533, the last 600 Indians were allowed by Charles V to retire with Henri their "cacique", to the limited area of Boya, near Santo-Domingo. I do not know of any recent linguistic study which claims important Indian contributions to Haitian Creole. Almost four decades ago, Jules Faine tried to draw overly-ambitious conclusions based apparently on a limited list of "Indian words"

> *Des mots comme: atoutou, agouti, coucouille, lambi, iguane, mabouya, etc. sont caraïbes, de même: avocat (aouicate), bayahonde, calebasse, campêche, corosol, gouayave, gname, mousea, maby, tom-tom, cassave,... barbaco, canot, hamac, gouane, ouragan.* (Faine 1936:2).

To these words the present writer could add a few more such as Haiti, Quisqueya, or Boyo, the three reputed Indian names of the island. However, a complete list would not be very long. So, when Faine says:

> *Le Créole s'est approprié un vocabulaire caraïbe assez considérable...* (Faine 1936:2)

his claim that the contributions of the Indian languages are "considerable" is overstated. The reader who is not familiar with Faine should be warned about that author's tendency to exaggerate in his statements. For example, still talking about the Indians, and equating creole and simplified talk, he concludes:

> *"l'indien caraibe parlait le créole."* (Faine 1936:9).

Faine's honesty is not in question, but his tendency to make such sweeping assertions in spite of insufficient documentation has exposed him to severe criticisms. Marcel d'Ans (1968:23) for example, has accused him of not conforming to linguistic principles and even of lacking common sense.

3.2 The Blacks

After the Indians had become extinct, the Spanish began the trade in black slaves which was continued by the French when they took the Colony from Spain, effectively around 1630, but officially in 1697 (Treaty of Ryswick). The arrival of the African blacks introduced the second element of the three mentioned earlier. This imported group survived and, together with the Europeans, must have made significant con-

tributions to the formation of Haitian Creole.

The linguistic background of the Africans was extremely diversified, since they were brought from various areas of Africa: Angola, Congo, Dahomey, Nigeria, Senegal, etc. In addition, as Hall points out, they

> *were systematically scattered on the plantations to keep them from coming in contact with other slaves of the same language.* (Hall 1953:13).

3.21 THE BLACK HERITAGE

Today, Haiti's population still keeps many social, cultural, and religious traits of those Africans. Most of the vocabulary of vodoo, for example, is African. The Haitian proletariat and rural classes, that is, those who speak only Creole, have a cultural, social, and family organization obviously based on African values and traditions. Haiti's dances and music reflect those of the black continent. As Hyppolite says:

> *"Brought in from the West Coast of Africa, the Negroes did not leave their culture behind. They brought with them their art, religion, music, dances,...* (Hyppolyte 1954:9)

The survival today of such features, although nonlinguistic in nature, should advise the linguist not to underestimate the usefulness of investigating the possibility of parallel linguistic developments.

3.3 The Europeans

The third contributing element is European. In the more than a century, from 1492 to 1630, very few Spaniard had settled in what is now Haiti. When the first French established themselves on Tortuga Island, it was not long before they began spreading to the north-western coast of Hispaniola. They came in greater numbers and, especially during the 18th century, increased massively the importation of slaves (Dorsainvil 1969:42), thus increasing at the same time the obvious communication problems.

I do not know of any well-documented piece of research claiming significant contributions of the Spanish language to the formation of Haitian Creole. Based both on the corpus obtained from my informants and on my own personal knowledge of Spanish as well as Haitian Creole, I would like to say that I have found no significant evidence of Spanish features in Haitian, besides a few vocabulary items and some geographical terms.

There was also, during the late eighteenth century, an occupation attempt by the English of certain regions of Saint-Domingue. It was short-lived, since the English were more interested in exhausting the resources of France with which they were at war, than in colonizing the island. Any English lexical item observed in today's Haitian Creole can, therefore, more correctly, be traced to the time of the occupation of Haiti by the American Marines, from 1915 to 1933, or to more recent borrowing.

The chief European contributor to the formation of the new language seems then to have been French. It is a fact that the analyst approaching the study of Haitian Creole is immediately impressed by the early realization that the lexicon is overwhelmingly composed of French words phonologically modified. This, no doubt, was the prime motivation of those who have classified Haitian Creole as a French dialect.

4. CLASSIFICATION

While characteristics obviously borrowed from French in phonology and lexicon are responsible for the classification of Haitian by certain observers as a French dialect, the non-conformity to French morphological and syntactic patterns has motivated others to go to the other extreme of classifying it as an African language. Some have chosen to remain on the middle ground.

4.1 Charles Hockett

Hockett makes his position clear when he says:

> *Haitian Creole is highly aberrant and yet is properly classifiable as a variety of North French.* (Hockett 1958:423.)

Unfortunately, Hockett's statement is not part of a detailed treatment of the topic and does not offer any supporting evidence.

4.2 Robert A. Hall, Jr.

Hall's position is in contradiction with that of Hockett:

> *It is not a dialect of French....Haitian Creole is to be classed among the Romance languages, and specifically among the northern group of the Gallo-Romance branch, on the basis of its phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical correspondences.* (Hall 1953:11, 12, 13)

4.3 H. A. Gleason

H. A. Gleason also disagrees with Hockett:

> *One Indo-European language which originated in this hemisphere should be mentioned. This is Haitian Creole, an offshoot of French, but sufficiently different that treatment as a mere dialect seems extreme.* (Gleason 1955, Rev. 1962:41).

4.4 Charles F. Pressoir

Charles Pressoir first goes to the extreme of classifying Haitian Creole with the Sudanese languages when he calls it:

> *Langue de noirs pouvant nettement être rattachée au groupe soudanais.* (Pressoir 1947:9).

He presents no strong substantiation of that statement, and later describes Creole as a mixed language:

> *C'est une langue mixte, ayant à sa base le vocabulaire francais, agencé selon les principes des grammaires africaines.* (Pressoir 1947:10).

In the next paragraph, Pressoir relates Creole genetically to French

> *Il est sorti du français comme les langues néo-romanes sont issues du latin.* (Pressoir 1947:10).

It is hard to see how all three of his hypotheses can be suggested of the same language.

4.5 Jules Faine

Faine classified Haitian as a neo-romance language having been only minimally influenced by the Africans and the Indians:

> *...le créole m'est apparu comme: une langue néo-romane issue de la langue d'oïl en passant par d'anciens dialects normand, picard, angevin, poitevin et composée, en outre, de mots empurntés à l'anglais et à l'espagnol et, dans une faible mesure, à des idiomes africains.* (Faine 1936:XI).

4.6 Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain.

Finally Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain, after a rather detailed discussion involving an impressive number of African languages, (Comhaire-Sylvain 1936:23-26), arrives at a two-way classification, in the following statement, the concluding paragraph of her book:

> *Nous sommes en présence d'un francais coulé dans le moule de la syntaxe africaine, ou, comme on classe généralement les langues d'après leur parenté syntaxique, d'une langue éwé à vocabulaire français.* (Comhaire-Sylvain 1936:178).

Comhaire-Sylvain's two-way classification leaves the impression that she is undecided and is asking the reader to pick his own choice from her either/or proposal. She does not call Creole a mixed language.

4.7 Is classification possible now?

It seems to me premature to attempt a classification of Haitian or any other creole language, at this stage of the evolution of creole studies. Fortunately, it is possible to suspend judgement on the ultimate propriety of placing Haitian with French, with one or more African languages, or with both, since the purpose of this study is a structural description of the language itself.

5. ORIGIN AND CREOLIZATION THEORIES

Origin and creolization theories that have been or are being discussed can conveniently be put together into two chronologically arranged groups: earlier discussions, from Schuchardt (1880's) to Faine and Comhaire-Sylvain (late 1930's), and recent discussions, principally, Robert Hall, Albert Valdman, David DeCamp, Keith Whinnon and other modern linguists (from the 1940's to today).

5.1 Earlier discussions

5.11 HUGO SCHUCHARDT

Hugo Schuchardt can be considered as a pioneer in the area of creole studies. His *Kreolische Studien* published from 1882 to 1890 marked the departure point of a new interest in creolization.

Being an anti-neogrammarian, he used creoles to defy the family-tree hypothesis. He was the first linguist to formulate what is known today as the "baby talk" theory, according to which the Europeans deliberately simplified their native language when speaking to the Africans. Schuchardt's position assumes that an upper-lower linguistic relationship is essential for the formation of a creole. His "master's baby-talk" opinion was modified later, in 1914, when he published his *Die Sprache der Samarakaneger in Surinam*, becoming less extreme; he thought then that the master and the slave had to meet somewhere in the middle. He is quoted by Faine as saying:

> *Dem Herrn wie dem Sklaven kam es einzig und allein darauf an, sich dem anderen verstaendlich zu machen, jener streifte von der europaeischen Sprache alles Besondere ab, dieser hielt alles Besondere von ihr zurueck; man traf sich auf einer mittleren Linie.* (in: Faine 1939:5)

5.12 BLOOMFIELD

Bloomfield shows the influence of Schuchardt's views. In *Language* he wrote little about creoles and creolization, but what he wrote leaves no doubt about where he stands:

> *Speakers of a lower language may make so little progress in learning the dominant speech, that the masters, in communicating with them resort to 'baby-talk'. This 'baby-talk' is the master's imitation of the subjects' incorrect speech...The subjects, in turn, deprived of the correct model, can do no better than to acquire the simplified 'baby-talk' version of the upper language.* (Bloomfield 1933:472)

5.13 DIRK CHRISTIAN HESSELING

Diametrically opposed to Schuchardt, we find Dirk C. Hesseling with what could be called the slave's imitation theory. He is well known for his famous *Het Afrikaans* (1923) where he postulates the Portuguese origin of that language due to a creolization process. But, in a less publicized paper, (Hesseling 1933) he maintains that creoles were created only by the slave's imitation of the master, that is to say by the speaker of the lower language. Like Schuchardt, Hesseling assumes an upper-lower linguistic relationship at the basis of the formation of a creole. But he believes that in order for the slave to create a creole he did not need the master's 'baby-talk' cooperation, and, furthermore, that he alone, the slave, decided what the final forms of the new language were to be. Hesseling's conclusions are cited by Faine:

> *...comment expliquer que la partie réduite en servitude, c'est-à-dire celle de l'esclave, triomphe et crée la norme? Voici l'explication: c'est qu'elle est la partie la plus faible en compréhension et la plus forte en imitation.* (in: Faine 1939:8)

Both Schuchardt and Hesseling seem to be strong believers in the slave's inherent incapacity to learn the master's language properly, and clearly imply the mental handicap of the non-European side together with the inferiority of its speech. This view would be partly in contrast with Hjelmslev's (1939) who, while adopting the baby-talk theory, saw in creole-like simplifications a sign of superiority since they tend toward linguistic universals.

5.14 JULES FAINE

Faine disagrees with Schuchardt's position, pointing out that the simplification process as presented by Schuchardt, if correct, should have taken place the same way in the Roman Empire, instead of the Romance genetic evolution.

Faine also rejects Hesseling's theory and concludes:

> *En définitive, les postulats de Schuchardt et de Hesseling sont a priori, purement idéologiques, et reposent sur l'abstraction.* (Faine 1939:14).

He goes on to present his own theory based on the contrastive analysis of two creoles, Haitian and Mauritian, which he has found to be very close, in spite of the geographical separation, and of the fact, he says, that the slave elements populating the island of Maurice spoke malayo-polynesian, and those coming to Saint-Domingue spoke West-African languages. Also, he calls to attention that the adoption of the infinitive as an invariable verbal base, which has been regarded by Hesseling and Schuchardt as a typically creole phenomenon, is found often in twelfth century Norman, and to a certain extent, in English The backbone of Faine's theory is that the French coming from various provinces of France had previously had linguistic contact, while doing business or travelling on boats, and from those contacts they had formed a new dialect:

> *De la sorte s'est formé, à l'exclusion des dialectes appartenant en propre à chacune des provinces en question, un patois composite, simplifié, espèce de lingua-franca, en usage sur les vaisseaux marchands et autres...*
> (Faine 1939:16)

He sees such a lingua-franca spoken by the merchants and the sailors as the real origin of French creoles. Unfortunately, by limiting his data on two French creoles, Faine narrows the acceptability of his conclusions as a general creolization theory. However, in spite of such a limitation, I feel that Faine's views have more verisimilitude than those based on "baby-talk".

5.15 SUZANNE COMHAIRE-SYLVAIN

Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain's views on the origin problem are also restricted to the specifics of Haitian Creole. In the few lines she dedicates to the problem in Comhaire-Sylvain 1936, she applies, knowingly or by coincidence, the Hesseling formula to the Haitian context, while at the same mitigating a little the inferiority implications.

She says:

> *A mon avis, le créole haitien est probablement né*
> *dans l'île de la Tortue au cours du XVIIe siècle,*
> *du jour où un esclave nègre s'est avisé, pour se*
> *faire comprendre du flibustier français, son*
> *maître, d'essayer de lui parler dans sa langue.*
> *Il y a eu un effort d'adjustement des deux côtés...*
> (Comhaire-Sylvain 1936:8)

5.2 Recent Discussions

As can be seen in the preceeding summary, no earlier theory has been able to explain convincingly the origins of creoles. Recent work has sought generalizations valid for all creoles, rather than explanations of the origin of one or another specific language.

5.21 PIDGINIZATION AND CREOLIZATION

Most of today's creolists consider that pidgins and creoles are two successive stages of a single process. The definitions given to the two terms by Robert Hall have received wide acceptance. (Hall 1966:XII).

Basically a pidgin has a reduced grammar and vocabulary and is not the native language of any community. A creole, in addition to being native to a community, has the characteristic of not being of limited use, since it can fulfill all communication needs, not only specialized ones.

5.22 THEORIES IN RECENT DISCUSSIONS

Wide agreement among linguists seems to stop at the previous distinction. Their views diverge considerably as soon as origins and classification are thrown into the picture. Their arguments are by no means simple and can receive only a summary coverage in this short introduction to a synchronic description. Opinions being expressed today can be roughly grouped under two headings:

The "neo-baby-talk" or polygenetic theory.

The Portuguese origin or monogenetic theory.

5.221 The polygenetic theory

The polygenetic or "neo-baby-talk" theory is nothing but a newer and improved edition of Schuchardt's. Its main proponent, Robert A. Hall, Jr., explains it this way:

> *his (the native's) first attempts at talking Portuguese, Spanish, French or English would be halting. At this point, the European would assume that the native's incomplete efforts at speaking the European's language were due, not to insufficient practice, but to inherent mental inferiority. So the European would conclude that it was useless to use 'good language' to the native, and would reply to him in a replica of the latter's incomplete speech, adding also some of the patterns of baby-talk commonly used by mothers and nurses in their own country.* (Hall 1966:5)

The process is supposed to have taken place independently in the different areas where a master-slave relationship was evolving.

The assumptions of the polygenetic theory are denied by the proponents of monogenesis. David DeCamp calls them "incredibly naive" (in Hymes ed. 1971:19) and goes on, in rebuttal:

> *First, all the early accounts (dating from the 18th century in Jamaica, for example) report that the white planters and their families were learning the creole from their slaves not vice versa... Furthermore, if each European had indeed improvised his own variety of baby-talk to communicate with his servants and slaves, how could one explain the fact that dialects of creole French, including those in the Indian Ocean, are mutually intelligible?*
> (in: Hymes ed. 1971:19)

In principle, a proponent of either theory will automatically disagree with the views of the other. However, as David DeCamp notices,

> *until recently the controversy was among competing polygetic theories.* (in: Hymes ed. 1971:19)

5.222 The monogenetic theory

The Portuguese origin or monogenetic theory is by no means the creation of modern linguists. Its origins can be traced back to D. C. Hesseling.

In *Het Afrikaans*, published in 1889, Hesseling stated his belief that Afrikaans originated from the creolization of a Malayo-Portuguese pidgin. Recent writers have refined and expanded Hesseling's views, holding that all pidgins and creoles may have developed in a parallel way, from Portuguese origins, after suffering heavy relexification. Among those who sympathize with monogenesis, David DeCamp (in: Hymes 1971:22-23) cites Navarro Tomás, Douglas Taylor, R. W. Thompson, William Stewart, G. de Granda, and Keith Whinnom. Navarro Tomás has the credit for having been the first one in recent years to revive such ideas, but Keith Whinnom (1965:522-7) went further by postulating Sabir as the Proto-Creole from which all European-based creoles have originated. One of the decisive processes during such evolution is that of relexification.

5.2221 Relexification

Relexification is an extreme case of vocabulary diffusion, going beyond what has been observed in contact situations like, for example, that one existing in New York City in the Spanish-speaking communities. Relexification here should not be confused with code switching or language mixture.

As Labov notices (in: Hymes ed. 1971:457), nobody, as yet, has been able to come up with rules which can account systematically for language mixture. The proponents of relexification in creoles should expect great difficulty formalizing and documenting this concept properly. One thing to be proven is that creoles are particularly prone to this phenomenon, and it is not at all impossible that they remain as such throughout their lives.

Without fully accepting a relexification theory, I would like to bring to the attention of interested researchers the following attested facts:

I have observed an interesting pattern in the Creole spoken by Haitians who have lived in New-York City for a certain number of years, particularly in Brooklyn where the heaviest concentration is found. The Creole used by these New-York Haitians is heavily loaded with all categories of English words: nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc., which they assimilate to Creole categories. This usage has struck me as going beyond the limits of ordinary borrowing. I wish to submit several examples which have been supplied to me by my informant M.S. They are among the most popular relexified items, and they can also be examined in context in Text number 1 of Part D, "New York's Creoglish", reported by M.S. They are presented in the following order:

1st. line: SC Standard Creole

2nd. line: BC Brooklyn Creole

3rd. line: AE American English

The Creole phonetic transcriptions here are in broad modified IPA with the parts involving relexification underlined. A phonemic representation is available in part D.

[dɛnje mũn oküpe sa jo rele oküpe]

[dɛnje mũn bizi sa jo rele bizi]

Everybody is busy, really busy

[mariterɛz ap fɛ vesɛl]

[mariterɛz ap fɛ diʃiz]

Marie-Theresa is doing the dishes

[kamɛn al nã lesiv]

[kamɛn al nã lõdri]

Carmen went to the laundry

[mariclod al nã maʃe]

[mariclod al nã makɛt]

Mary Claude went to the market

[ʒera ap prepare taksli]

[ʒera ap fil jõ inkòmtaks]

Gerard is preparing his taxes (Relexified: filing an income-tax)

[m̩ tãde jo sõnẽ cloʃla]

[m̩ tãde jo riŋ dòbella]

I heard someone ring the door bell

[mal rele kimũn sa]

[mal rele uizit]

I went to ask "who is it?"

[kɔ̀mdefɛt muvri pɔ̀tla]

[kɔ̀medefɛt ɱ opẽn dɔ̀a]

Effectively I open the door

[ki te pral ʒete fatra]

[ki te pral ʒete gabedʒ]

Who was going to put the garbage away.

[ãnivɛ lɛ jo sɔ̀ti]

[nã wintɛ tajm lɛ jo sɔ̀ti]

In the winter when they go out

[m̩ dil ãtre m̩ fɛmẽ pɔ̀tla]

[m̩ dil stɛp in ɱ cloz dɔ̀a]

I told her to step in; I closed the door

[kɔ̀mã u parɛt fatige kõsa]

[kɔ̀mã u luk tajɛd kõsa]

How come you look so tired?

[gẽlɛ u tap gade televizjõ ta]

[gẽlɛ u te nã letʃo]

Apparently you were watching television late. (Relexified: you were in the late show)

[pu vin lakajnu]

[pu vin ãtre nã piktjœnu]

To come to our house (Relexified: to enter our picture)

[li mãde twalɛt]

[li mãde batrum]

She asked for the bathroom.

[mõtrel twalɛtla]

[mõtrel batrumnã]

Show her the bath-room.

[m̩ voje zjöm nã fenɛtla]

[m̩ voje zjöm nã windoa]

I gave a glance in the window.

[kalite lanɛʒ gẽ nã larüa]

[kalite esno ge nã estritla]

Such snow there was on the street.

[kũmã]

[nowõdɑe]

How come. (Relexified: no wonder).

[se dɛjɛ tripotaj lap vini]

[se dɛjɛ gòsip lap vini]

It is for gossip she is coming.

[ãtuka]

[eniwe]

Anyway

[sœlmã bagaj pu ʒãti]

[djœs bagaj pu ʒãti]

Just to be kind.

[jo lagel su kosjõ]

[jo bel li aut ovdjel]

They freed him on bail (completely relexified).

[jo dim nu brote]

[jo dim nu muv]

They told me you people moved.

[mãmã brote]

[mãmã muv]

Mother moved.

[mãmãw brote li pa relem]

[mãmãw muv li pa kòl mwẽ]

Your mother moved and she didn't call me.

[nu poko brote]

[nu poko muv]

You have not move yet.

[la relew]

[la kòl u]

She will call you.

[bõ nu brote]

[bõ nu muv]

Well, you moved.

[kunjea ki adrɛsu]

[kunjea ki bitwinu]

Now what is your address? (Relexified: your "between")

[m̩ pa kõn adrɛsla]

[m̩ pa kõn bitwinna]

I don't know the address. (Relexified: the "between")

5.23 NEED FOR A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH.

The more than 100,000 Haitians who have been living in New York for some years were subjected to sudden, massive, abrupt social changes. An interesting question can be asked: how do the structural modifications, or the borrowings they have adapted to their language compare to those of non-Creole speakers who have experienced similar social changes? In my opinion, if the relexification assumption is applicable to that context, this represents a golden opportunity to observe synchronically what may be "relexification in progress". Close scrutiny of this kind of situation may shed light not only on the relexification theory in particular, but also on the whole creolization process, and if the results are significant, contribute toward stronger documentation of the theory. Such scrutiny will fortunately be able to count upon the new sociolinguistic awareness of today's trend.

It has occurred to me that the slow progress in the area of creole studies, up until recent years may have been due in part to the insistence of some to analyze creoles along traditional lines. More attention should be given to sociolinguistic aspects of the problem. Some undiscovered characteristics of those languages may be such that they will be observable only by the researcher who looks for them from the social angle. Diachronically, the social aspects of creoles cannot be ignored. Why, then, would one insist on ignoring them synchronically?

6. TWO INTERTWINED SOCIO-LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS OF HAITI: DIGLOSSIA AND ILLITERACY

6.1 Diglossia

Diglossia as defined by Charles Ferguson

> *is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language, there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used in most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.* (in: Hymes ed. 1964:429-39)

Haiti is a diglossic country and is used as an example by Ferguson, together with Greece, Switzerland and the Arab countries. More is said about Haitian diglossia by Albert Valdman. Valdman, after a field trip taken in Haiti in 1966, presented the following points of view, at the December 1966 meeting of the Modern Language Association in New York:

> *La diglossie en Haiti diffère de celle que l'on trouve dans les pays de langue arabe, en Grèce, et dans les cantons germanophones de la Confédération*

> *Helvêtique, par le fait que les deux langues en présence, le créole et le francais, bien qu' apparentées, divergent considerablement l'une de l'autre du point de vue de leur structure. Par ailleurs, et ceci est particulièrement important, la langue vernaculaire, le créole, est issue de la langue dominante, le français...*
> (in: MLA Newsletter 11:4)

Another relevant difference from the Arabic diglossic situation was brought to my attention by John G. Fought (personal communication): Morocco has Berber/Arabic or Berber/Arabic versus French diglossia, so that in part of the territory, the difference is greater. Fought also thinks it is still an open question whether French is the "source" of Haitian Creole.

6.11 ATTITUDES AND CONSEQUENCES

Together with a diglossia inherited from colonial times, there has existed the tendency to attach a label of social superiority to French in contrast with Creole. Many of the classical statements about attitudes found in articles on the topic can find their application in Haiti, especially among the urban classes, but in Haiti, the problem is further complicated by the overwhelming illiteracy.

6.2 Illiteracy

Since the birth of the country, French has been the language in which Haitian children are taught to read and write, although it is not their vernacular language; for more than 80% of them, it is a language they have never heard before starting school. For the urban child, this is a problem he may still hope to overcome: just because he lives in the environment of the city, he stands a better chance to assimilate the teaching imparted by his French-speaking professors.

However, in the rural areas, the child has no contact with French, and when he goes to school for the first time, he is faced with the task of learning how to read and write a language which is unknown to him. Many Haitian scholars have concentrated on the problem of teaching Haiti's children how to read and write in their own language. Of course, they saw the first step in the establishment of such a program as being the design of an acceptable orthography for Creole.

6.21 EARLIER WRITING SYSTEMS

Most of the early Haitian researchers were excessively influenced by their French background and proposed gallicized orthographies showing too many of the inconsistencies of the French writing system. G. Sylvain in 1901, Christian Beaulieu in 1939, Father Jean-Marie Salgado in 1949, and others have proposed etymological orthographies copied closely from French. It would be unfortunate if any one of them were adopted. Among other things, those proposed alphabets tended to transfer into Creole too many French spelling inconsistencies. Creation and adoption of an alphabet for Creole must take advantage of the opportunity offered to get rid of many problems already considered handicaps in other languages. An ethnophonemic orthography is the answer.

6.22 LAUBACH AND McCONNELL

In May 1943, under a program sponsored by the government of President Elie Lescot of Haiti, the American education expert Dr. Franck Laubach and the Reverend H. Ormonde McConnell proposed the following orthography originally designed by McConnell:

Sound	**Laubach and McConnell**
[i]	i

Sound	Laubach and McConnell
[e]	é
[ɛ]	è
[a]	a
[ɔ]	ò
[o]	o
[u]	ou
[ĩ]	î
[ẽ]	ê
[ã]	â
[õ]	ô
[ũ]	ou
[w]	w
[j]	y
[p]	p
[t]	t
[k]	k
[b]	b
[d]	d
[g]	g
[f]	f
[v]	v
[s]	s
[z]	z
[ʃ]	ch
[ʒ]	j

Sound	Laubach and McConnell
[r]	r
[l]	l
[m]	m
[n]	n
[ɲ]	gn

The reaction of the Haitian public to the Laubach-McConnell system - not only that of the elite, of the intellectuals, or of a limited section of the population - was one of absolute and complete rejection. One of the main criticisms was the alleged unnecessary introduction in a "Romance" language of the "anglo-saxon letter w" which caused the Laubach alphabet to be pejoratively labeled "made in the U.S.A." Those who voiced this argument only demonstrated their ignorance of the international phonetic agreements using [w] phonetically in French. But the use of the circumflex accent instead of an n for nasalization was the most severely criticized. I agree with this last criticism. Why not use simply n? Laubach and McConnell were no doubt linguistically correct in the choice of their symbol, but since it is also linguistically correct to represent nasalization with n, there is no reason to create an unnecessary gap in the case of a transition from Creole to French, by the Haitians having learned how to read in Creole, since the goal of the Laubach program as described by H. Ormonde McConnell himself was:

> *to teach adults to read and write Creole, with a view to their passing to French afterwards.* (McConnell 1945:7)

With such aims, the use of ^ as the symbol of nasalization in a Haitian

Creole writing system, although phonemically correct, is a factor that brings more problems than it solves, considering that, in the case of the proposed transition to French, the newly taught individual will be faced with ^ as an accent in French and will have to learn a new nasalization convention. Any solution will have certain advantages and certain disadvantages, but, in the case being discussed, the disadvantages of the ^ are far greater than its advantages.

It is my opinion that Laubach, McConnell and their associates failed principally because they ignored sociolinguistics. Their phonemically correct analysis was sociolinguistically wrong: their apparent complete disregard for the native feelings and opinions, culminating in the choice of the least prestigious rural dialect, their lack of realization of the intertwining of the illiteracy problems with those of diglossia, were responsible for their failure.

6.23 FAUBLAS-PRESSOIR

Recently, the whole problem of teaching how to read and write in Creole has been dealt with anew in Haiti. The system being used now is basically the one designed in 1947 by Charles F. Pressoir, after Laubach (Pressoir 1947:69 71). About this new program, here are Douglas Taylor's comments:

> *Only in Haiti and within the past decade, so far as I know, have the schools begun to teach reading and writing in a Creole mother tongue.*
>
> *Even there, the standardized orthography based on a phonological analysis of Haitian Creole has had to be abandoned under pressure from people who think that their language should at least 'look like' French.* (in: Fishman ed. 1968:613)

I do not hesitate to say that Taylor is a little too severe.

Let us hear how two linguists describe the Pressoir system. Hall says:

> *Pressoir 1947: proposes an orthography similar in all respects to McConnell-Laubach, except for nasalization: rejects circumflex because it diverges from French spelling, uses letter n after vowel for nasalization, and -n for /n/ after vowel.* (Hall 1953:26)

All this seems to be within the limits of "phonological analysis". Albert Valdman says:

> *En ce qui concerne le choix de symboles et les conventions qui relient les sons du créole aux lettres, sauf quelques détails, l'orthographe Faublas-Pressoir est parfaitement adéquate.* (in: MAL Newsletter 11:11)

In spite of Douglas Taylor's apparent condemnation, the adoption of the Faublas-Pressoir alphabet has solved a thirty-year-old impasse. I believe that the first step has been taken toward the solution of an illitaracy problem unusually complicated by the diglossic situation previously described.

7. SETTING AND PROCEDURES

7.1 Dialect analyzed

I have chosen to analyze Haitian Creole as spoken in the Port-au-Prince-Jacmel area. Although Robert A. Hall, Jr. claims to describe the dialect of the same area, his system is too simple to fit my data. Following the footsteps of McConnell (McConnell 1945) who collaborated in writing the book, and of Laubach who worked with H. McConnell, ceding to the tendency found among too many linguists to show creoles in their most simplistic aspects (not surprising since he is the strongest proponent of the "baby-talk" theory), Hall has isolated, above all in phonology, an artifically ideal, clear-cut, simplified dialect, not found as such in the Port-au-Prince-Jacmel area, and he wrongly refers to it as *becoming the standard language* (Hall 1953:12). Based on my data and my observations, I can state that at the most, Hall's dialect could be considered as the least prestigious and the least conservative of the rural subdialects of the West, one often called "Gros-Creole." Hall and I thus are not analyzing the same dialect. Hall's "Gros-Creole" is not becoming the standard language. I intend to present here the dialect which I and others believe is really becoming standard Creole, the dialect spoken by most people in the Port-au-Prince-Jacmel area and regarded as the model to imitate by speakers of other dialects.

Other authors besides Hall have based synchronic analyses on what they consider to be the Port-au-Prince dialect, principally d'Ans 1968, Valdman 1967 and Targète 1972. In order to make the reader aware of the differences between those works and the present analysis, I like to bring the following to attention: Marcel d'Ans uses European procedures having little in common with the approach used here. Valdman 1967 is a pedagogical grammar for the teaching of Haitian to English-speaking people. Targète 1972 which the author calls a *progressive method for self-teaching* is unfortunately not based on modern principles of linguistic analysis.

Some earlier studies were made by Haitians, but none is a purely synchronic analysis: Jules Faine's *Philologie Créole* (1936) is described by the author himself as *Etudes historiques et étymologiques sur la Langue Créole d'Haiti*; his *Le Créole dans l'Univers* (1939) is an *étude comparative des parlers français-créoles*.

Charles F. Pressoir's *Débats sur le Créole et le Folklore* (1947) is a discussion of selected problems such as the pronunciation and history of Creole, African religions, African literature, etc. and creole texts from Haiti, Louisiana, the Lesser West Indies, Guyana, Reunion Island, Maurice Island.

Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvan's *Le Créole Haitien: Morphologie et Syntaxe* (1936) is a comparison of French, Creole and african languages.

7.2 Improvements on earlier studies

Hall 1953's phonemic analysis is simply a list of phonemes. He offers no contrastive analysis or discussion of the proposed phonemes. The present study of the sound-system of Haitian includes exemplification and discussion not only of the phonemics, but also of the phonetics of the Port-au-Prince dialect. Some of the major issues are seen in the light of sociolinguistics. Thus, although previous analyses of Haitian Creole have excluded from discussion the front rounded vowels (on the grounds that they were used only in gallicisms --- a methodology unacceptable to synchronic linguistics --- my observations, on the contrary, lead me to conclude that they are an integral part of the phonemics of the Port-au-Prince dialect. (B 2.113)

The Haitian Creole affricates are also given a solution never applied before (B 2.34), and so are the nasals (B 2.33). Another difference between my phonemic analysis and those of Hall and others is my setting up of phonemic features (B 3) leading to a convenient feature description of the units, and my more complete inventory of syllable structure (B 4.1) and of consonant clusters (B 4.3). Finally while adopting the traditionally accepted suprasegmentals (pitch, juncture and stress), I have tried to show that Haitian Creole stress does not fall always on the last syllable as previous researchers, including Hall, have inaccurately stated.

In this analysis, I also present a structural and functional analysis of Haitian Creole form-classes. As far as names for the various classes are concerned, there is absolutely nothing intrinsically wrong with traditional terms, such as nouns, adjectives, verbs etc; they are convenient as any others if their definitions are based on specific structural criteria. Whenever applicable, I use them. Where the requirements of this analysis so indicate, "Bloomfieldian" terms, such as "determiner", "marker", etc. (Bloomfield 1933:passim) are preferred and properly defined within the Haitian Creole context.

In Hall 1953, there is a relatively long compilation dealing with what the author intends to be an analysis of word-formation processes. It occupies nine pages (Hall 1953:34-42), more than half of the fifteen pages of morphology. Although Hall begins by warning the reader that derivational processes in Creole constitute gallicisms, are *rare*, occurring *scatteringly*, and are found in *borrowed* lexical items (Hall 1953:34), he seems to have felt, after all, that their study still deserved a considerable proportion of the book.

It is not my purpose to examine individually each one of the more than one hundred samples of stem-alternation, prefixation, suffixation, compounding, etc., reported by Hall. While the author felt the necessity to remind his readers, on three occasions, that derivational processes in Haitian are very often gallicisms (Hall 1953:34, 36, 38), his apparent non-adherence to his own observations may have been responsible for his performing many morphological overanalyses. I am tempted to see, in several of his conclusions, the influence of his knowledge in French, if not an indication of his a priori conviction that he would find, in Haitian, grammatical features matching those of the Romance languages. For example, although Creole verbs are not morphologically conjugated, he still decided to group them in four classes, according to their endings, similarly to the French conjugations, and in that way, established morphological bases for the stem alternations he wanted to describe, his prime target after all, in my opinion. (Hall 1953:30). But the verb groups themselves are hardly necessary. Verb-related stem-alternations are, for instance, analyzable in English without any such classifications. If Hall's goal is, as I understand it to be, the morphological analysis of the verb, it could have been reached by the simple recognition of some verbal derivational morphemes. His four verb-classes serve no real purpose.

It is my very strong opinion that since the vocabulary of Haitian Creole was built up almost exclusively on loans, the study of the word-formation processes belongs in historical linguistics, not in a synchronic analysis. While trying not to mix levels, and to keep his approach purely descriptive, the analyst has to remember that the apparently derived or compounded items were actually adopted in their fully developed forms, not long ago, at the time of the creation, or during the course of the development of the language. This knowledge of the history of the language, far from disturbing the structualist's synchronic approach, can only make him more aware of the need to ignore the processes of the original language, while concentrating on the real characteristics of the new language.

A study dealing with the word-formation processes of any creole which does not grant prime consideration to productivity risks the transfer into the creole of many observations, valid for the original language, but irrelevant to the creole. In view of the relationship of Haitian words to their French bases, one faces, during their morphological analysis, the constant danger of getting carried away without knowing when and where to stop cutting.

I strongly believe that, at the present stage of the evolution of Haitian Creole, its word-formation processes are better approached diachronically, and that the language, as for now, should be considered more "analytic" than "synthetic". (Bloomfield 1933:207).

In the morphological analysis I have therefore concentrated my efforts toward establishing form-classes based on solid grounds and described in detail. Among other things, for example, my approach to the determiner (C2) is not found in other analyses. That category includes forms which have traditionally been kept apart but which I feel should be together. As explained in the corresponding discussion under C 2, my decision is based on the fact that it is quite unnecessary to establish distinct classes for forms having common meanings, common or closely related morphological structures, and complementary or noncontrastive grammatical functions.

Another traditional class I have tried to reorganize completely is that of the adverbs. The definition found in most grammar books is that adverbs are "words that modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs".

Among 'adverbs' so understood are generally included forms that fit all aspects of the description, and others that don't. In the traditional approach, there are no provisions for distinguishing them. Besides, one can expect the ramifications of the problem to vary appreciably, from language to language.

In English, words like "very", "well", "enough", "slowly" will be listed as 'adverbs' by most grammars and dictionaries. They are grouped together according to the traditional criteria, because we can say:

"He works well"
"He works enough"
"he works slowly",

although we cannot say:

*"He works very".

We can also say:

"very good"
"good enough"

But forms like:

*"well good"
*"slowly good"
or: *"good well"
*"good slowly"

are rejected by the native speaker.

It is correct to say:

"more slowly",

while users of the language don't accept:

"more well"

"more enough"

Correspondingly, in Haitian Creole, there are forms that show a similar pattern of behavior, and would be classified as 'adverbs', if one were to follow the traditional views. For example, one can say:

/li travaj 'bjẽ↓/	"He works well"
/li travaj 'kõt↓/	"He works enough"
/li travaj dus'mã↓/	"He works slowly"

but not:

*/li travaj 'trɛ↓/	*"He works very"

Similarly it is correct to say:

/trɛ 'bõ↓/	"very good"
/bõ 'kõt↓/	"good enough"
/bjẽ 'bõ↓/	"really good"

but not:

*/dusmã 'bõ↓/	*"slowly good"
*/bõ dus'mã↓/	*"slowly good"

Thus, an analysis of Creole that would indiscriminately group together in one class the forms:

/'bjẽ/	"well"
/'kõt/	"enough"
/dus'mã/	"slowly"
/'trɛ/	"very",

along the traditional lines, would be guilty of the over-inclusiveness and heterogenity criticized above. Unfortunately, this is the approach followed by Robert A. Hall, Jr. who defines the Haitian adverbs as:

> *attributes of adjectives, verbs and other adverbs*
> (Hall 1953:31)

Not only does Hall fail to separate the 'adverbs' properly, but also, by not providing clear demarcations, he causes an unexplained overlapping of his 'adjectives' and 'adverbs'. For instance, on page 51, he has the following examples:

/visje ã'pil↓/	"very thievish"
/brigã si'tã↓/	"so wild"

in which he calls /ã'pil/ an 'adjective' and /si'tã/ an 'adverb'. Of course, /ã'pil/ passes his adjective test (Hall 1953:28), while /si'tã/ does not. However the two forms are also 'adverbs' according to his definition, since they modify adjectives:

/visje ã'pil↓/	"very thievish"
/visje si'tã↓/	"so thievish"
/brigã ã'pil↓/	"very wild"
/brigã si'tã↓/	"so wild"

They also, modify verbs:

/travaj ã'pil↓/	"to work much"
/travaj si'tã↓/	"to work so much"
/mãʒe ã'pil↓/	"to eat much"
/mãʒe si'tã↓/	"to eat so much"

So, in Hall's examples, /ã'pil/ and si'tã/ could both be called 'adverbs'. Such overlapping of classes is legitimate, but should be methodically accounted for in the analysis of the language.

The preceding discussion shows that a higher level of analytical coherence will result if the analyst comes to the full realization that the items so far generally lumped together as 'adverbs', are a very big group including forms unduly associated, and in urgent need of redistribution along narrower lines, following less inclusive criteria. Mutual exclusivity is not a criterion of form-classes, and it is much more desirable to have several better defined small classes, than one big class with loosely fitted members. I will follow this approach in defining the Haitian Creole adverb.

Finally, another area where my form-class analysis had to be original is that of the verb, because no previous researcher had successfully solved the aspectual system and the copula.

Haitian Creole shows a remarkable originality in the structuring of its verbal system, compared to Indo-European languages. First of all, the Haitian verb, instead of being paradigmatically conjugated, has an invariable form, to which special auxiliaries are added. Here, I would like to reaffirm my previously expressed disagreement with Robert A. Hall's basic classification of the Haitian verb. Although Creole verbs are not morphologically conjugated, Hall (1953:30) has organized them into four classes, according to a system of root and stem-formant, a projection, indeed, of the French verbal groups. Such an approach, convenient for French, where conjugations are strictly based on verbal stems and endings, is hardly necessary in Haitian. Second, number and person do not function as categories of the Haitian verb and are indicated independently. In other terms, isolating the verb from its environment leaves us with no clues about number or person. Tense, mood, and voice are greatly reduced in expression: for example, where tenses other than present are formally indicated in the structure, Haitian uses just two special tense-indicating markers (C 10.13), Aspect, however, receives great emphasis, and is such an intrinsically important characteristic that its numerous indicators (C 10.12) are the best structural element the analyst may choose to define the Creole verb.

One should not, nevertheless, be led to believe that the Haitian Creole verbal system is over-simplified. The elaborate expression of aspectual nuances more than compensates for the eliminated features, and in my opinion, brings into the Creole verb peculiarities that are not found in languages like French, Spanish, English, etc.

Haitian also presents the problem of instability of the copula. Some linguists may view the absence of a copula as a criterion of simplification. I would agree that complete absence would certainly be. However, I believe that its presence in certain cases, versus its non-occurrence or its optionality in other, as observed in several languages like Arabic, Russian, and now Haitian Creole, can be considered instead as a source of additional complexity, at least for the analyst and language learner. Such instability, notwithstanding other differences to be detailed later, is enough motivation to separate the presentation of the Creole copula from that of the verb proper, in spite of numerous areas of similarlity.

7.3 Texts

To the texts that appear as the last part of the study together with their translation into English, I have added some sociolinguistic comments about Creole in particular and the Haitians in general as suggested by John Fought. The observation of such features was facilitated by my being a native-born Haitian who has lived more than thirty years in Haiti, and by my cultural affinity with my informants and their society.

7.4 Transcriptions

While trying to remain as much as possible within the bounds of the IPA system, I have been obliged because of typing problems to adopt certain modifications, all of which, however, are among common and well-accepted conventions.

In no place, either in the examples or in the sample texts, have I used any conventional spelling, since I expect most readers to be unfamiliar with the language. A conventional orthography restricts the value of the structural information available. I think that for purposes of descriptive linguistics, a phonemic transcription is always preferable. In this respect, I disagree with Hall's reasons for transcribing his texts and examples in Laubach:

> *For typographic ease and economy and to emphasize the value, both practical and scientific, of this orthography.* (Hall 1953:27)

Besides the symbolic representation of the individual sounds, I have used the following symbols:

[ ]	enclosure of phonetic transcription.

/ /	enclosure of phonemic transcription.
| |	enclosure of morpheme.
ˈ	precedes stressed syllable.
⇄	alternates with.
~	above a letter for nasalization.
•	under a letter for voicelessness.
ˌ	under a consonant for syllabicity.
→	sustained terminal juncture.
↑	rising terminal juncture.
↓	falling terminal juncture.
Space	open juncture.
1 2 3	pitch.
V	any vowel.
C	any consonant
*	unacceptable

7.5 Informants and elicitation

All my informants are native speakers of the selected dialect, with various social and educational backgrounds. I have tried to expand their number as much as necessary in order to make sure that I have examined a significant enough cross-section of the population of the area. They are in alphabetical order:

A.B. Antonin Bernadel, accountant, age 45, born in Miragoâne, lived in Port-au-Prince from age 9.

E.B. Elza Bernadel, laboratory technician, age 43, born and raised in Port-au-Prince.

C.F. Claude François, no profession, age 27, born in Jacmel, lived in Jacmel and Port-au-Prince.

J.F. Jacqueline Francois, housewife, age 24, born in Jérémie, lived in Port-au-Prince from age 7.

B.L. Betty Larose, student, age 17, born in Dessalines, lived in Port-au-Prince from age 2.

I.L. Idomenée Larose, court-assistant, age 58, born in Dessalines, lived in Port-au-Prince from age 7.

E.R. Eddy Raymond, student, age 18, born and raised in Port-au-Prince.

M.S. Maurice Sixto, retired newspaper editor, teacher, and diplomat, age 54, born in Gonaives, lived in Port-au-Prince from age 9; told the anecdotes of Part D.

J.C.T. Jean-Claude Turnier, garage manager, age 33, born and raised in Port-au-Prince.

Except at the very early stages of the search for minimal pairs and basic phonemic contrast, I have not used word-by-word elicitation. I think naturalness and accuracy have benefited since I have observed and analyzed samples of casual conversations and have looked for informants who like to talk about themselves, or who know anecdotes, proverbs and folkloric tales of Haiti. This approach allows the study of spontaneous speech and puts the linguist in a good position to observe language in context, not in isolation. By conducting the elicitation all the time in my native Creole, I hope to have escaped an important problem brought up by Labov:

> *In all the creole systems, we are dealing with a subordinate dialect in contact with a superordinate standard...Whenever a subordinate dialect is in contact with a superordinate one, linguistic forms produced by a speaker of the subordinate dialect in formal context will shift in an unsystematic manner towards the superordinate.* (in Hymes ed. 1971:450)

I also think that I have succeeded in keeping the elicitation meetings at the highest level of informality due to my personal acquaintance with most of the informants and to our cultural affinity.

B. SOUND SYSTEM

1. INVENTORY OF PHONES

The phones of Haitian Creole can be classified into vowels, semi-vowels and consonants.

1.1 Vowels

All vowels are voiced. Three series are to be distinguished: Front unrounded, Front rounded, back rounded. There are also nasalized vowels.

1.11 ORAL VOWELS

1.111 Front unrounded

[i] high

[i'sit]	"here	[pi'to]	"to prefer"	[ma'ri]	"Mary"

[e] higher-mid

[e'ta]	"condition"	[me'te]	"to put"	[bro'te]	"to move"

[ɛ] lower-mid

['ɛ]	"hour"	['zɛb]	"grass"	[bɛ'bɛ]	"mute"

[a] low

[a'le]	"to go"	['kaj]	"house"	[a'pa]	"here is"

1.112 Front rounded

[ü] high

[ü'mid]	"humid"	[bü'ro]	"office"	['dü]	"hard"

[ö] higher-mid

[ö'rö]	"happy"	[fö'nɛt]	"window"	[dü'fö]	"fire"

[œ] lower-mid

['œ]	"hour"	['fœj]	"leaf"	['pœ]	"to be afraid"

1.113 Back rounded

[u] high

['u]	"you"	[ku'ku]	"owl"	[luga'ru]	"werewolf"

[o] higher-mid

[osi'tu]	"consequently"	[go'de]	"cup"	[za'go]	"hoof"

[ɔ] lower-mid

['ɔg]	"organ"	['kɔb]	"money"	['kɔ]	"body"

1.12 NASALIZED VOWELS

1.121 Front unrounded

[ĩ] High:

[pĩ'ga]	"don't"	['sĩj]	"sign"	[ũ'sĩ]	"female vodoo assistant"

[ẽ] or [ɛ̃] Between higher-mid and lower-mid

[ẽ'bẽ]	"well!"	[ɛ̃'bɛ̃]	"well!"
[gẽ'jẽ]	"there is"	[gɛ̃'jɛ̃]	"there is"

[ã] or [ɑ̃] Between nasalization of front [a] and that of a more back [ɑ] not found in the oral vowel inventory:

[ã'pil]	"much"	[ɑ̃'pil]	"much"
[zã'no]	"earrings"	[zɑ̃'no]	"earrings"

1.122 Front rounded

[ø̃] or [œ̃] Between higher-mid and lower-mid:

[lœ̃'d^{z}i]	"Monday"	[lø̃'dzi]	"Monday"

['brõ]	"dark'	['brõ]	"dark"

1.123 Back rounded

[ũ] High:

['ũ]	"one"	[w̃ũ'gã]	vodoo priest	[kũ'bã]	"how much"

[õ] or [δ̃] Between higher-mid and lower-mid:

[zõ'j̃õ]	"onion"	[zδ̃'jδ̃]	"onion"
[zavi'rõ]	"oar"	[zavi'rδ̃]	"oar"

1.2 Semivowels

[j] voiced high-front unrounded

['jo]	"they"	[ba'gaj]	"thing"	[pe'ji]	"country"

[j̣] voiceless high-front unrounded

[pe'tˢj̣õ]	"Petion"	[ak'sj̣õ]	"action"	['fj̣ɛl]	"bile"

[j̃] nasalized high-front unrounded

['j̃õ]	"an"	[rã'j̃õ]	"rag"	['sĩj̃]	"sign"

[ɥ] voiced high-front rounded

['ɥit]	"eight"	['lɥil]	"oil"	['nɥaz]	"cloud"

[ɥ̣] voiceless high-front rounded

[kɥ̣i'jɛ]	"spoon"	['sɥ̣e]	"perspire"	['pɥ̣i]	"well"

[w] voiced high-back rounded

['wi]	"yes"	['bwa]	"wood"	['kaw]	"crow"

[w̃] nasalized high-back rounded

[w̃ã'ga]	"spell"	[w̃ũ'gã]	"vodoo priest"	[w̃ũ'fò]	"vodoo temple"

1.3 Consonants

1.31 STOPS

[p] voiceless bilabial

[pa'saj]	"annoyance"	[e'pi]	"then"	['kap]	"kite"

[b] voiced bilabial

[be'be]	"baby"	[zabo'ka]	"avacado"	[ka'pab]	"may"

[t] voiceless apico-dental

[tõ'tõ]	"uncle"	[le'tã]	"lake"	['rat]	"rat"

[d] voiced apico-dental

['do]	"back"	[ga'de]	"look"	['rad]	"clothes"

[t^{s}] voiceless apico-dental with fricature release

[pĕ't^{s}i]	"paint"	[ăt^{s}j̣e]	"complete"	[t^{s}ẉil]	"shingle"

[dẓ] voiced apico-dental with fricative release

[d^{z}i'ri]	"rice"	[ra'd^{z}jo]	"radio"	[ăd^{z}ẅi]	"spice meat"

[k] voiceless dorso-velar

[ka'bãn]	"bed"	[po'ko]	"not yet"	['fɛk]	"just" (adv.)

[g] voiced dorso-velar

[ga'de]	"look"	[gã'gã]	"vodoo priest"	['fig]	"banana"

1.32 FRICATIVES

[f] voiceless labio-dental

['fi]	"girl"	[a'fre]	"greedy"	['saf]	"greedy"

[v] voiced labio-dental

[virõ'nẽ]	"surround"	[dõ'vã]	"in front of"	['liv]	"book"

[s] voiceless dental

[sõ'ʒe]	"remember"	[ũ'sĩ]	"female vodoo assistant"	[kal'bas]	"calle-basse"

[z] voiced dental

['zɛ̃]	"fish hook"	[sizo'ka]	"in case"	[pi'nɛz]	"bed-bug"

[ʃ] voiceless fronto-palatal

['ʃwal]	"horse"	[pã'ʃe]	"leaning"	['niʃ]	"nest"

[ʒ] voiced fronto-palatal

[ʒu'mu]	"pumpkin"	[mã'ʒe]	"eat"	[ka'lòʒ]	"cage"

1.33 AFFRICATES

[č] voiceless fronto-palatal

['čul]	"ladies man"	['čača]	"maracas"	['čõnel]	"parasite"

[ʒ] voiced fronto-palatal

['ǯab]	"devil"	[bõǯe]	"God"	['ǯaz]	"jazz"

[tʃ] voiceless cluster

[kaot'ʃu]	"rubber"	[pòt'ʃãm]	"room door"	[pot'ʃãm]	"night pot"

[dʒ] voiced cluster

[adʒũ'dã]	"warrant officer"	[adʒek'tif]	"adjective"	[adʒi'dã]	"warrant officer"

1.34 SONORANTS

[m] bilabial nasal

[mŭn]	"people"	[ă'mwe]	"help"	['nŏm]	"man"

[m̩] syllabic bilabial nasal

[m̩ 'la]	"I am there"	[m̩ 'ri]	"I laugh"	[m̩'sjŏ]	"Mr., Sir"

[l] apico-dental

[lava'las]	"flood"	[la'lĭj]	"taxi"	['sal]	"dirty"

[n] apico-dental nasal

[nă'pwĕ]	"there is not"	[bănăn]	"banana"	['săn]	"ashes"

[ŋ] dorso-velar nasal

[ze'pĕŋ]	"pin"	[baltĕ'dĕŋ]	"peasant dance"	['kŏŋ]	"conger"

[r] advanced dorso-velar

[rĕ'mĕ]	"love"	[d^{z}i'ri]	"rice"	['bra]	"arm"

2. INVENTORY OF PHONEMES.

The inventory of phonemes will be based on the preceding phonetic inventory, the availability of relevant contrasts, and relevant distributional concerns.

2.1 Vowels

2.11 ORAL VOWELS

Tongue positions, tongue heights and lip-rounding were the articulatory dimensions taken into consideration at the grouping of three series of oral vowels.

front unrounded
back rounded
front rounded

The first two series listed here create no controversy. However, the phonemization of the front rounded variety calls for some appropriate comments.

2.111 Front unrounded

Their phonemic status is demonstrated by the following minimal pairs:

/i/ [i]

/fi/	"girl"	/li/	"he"	/si/	"if"
/fɛ/	"to do"	/la/	"there"	/se/	"it is"

/e/ [e]

/de/	"thimble"	/mẽ/	"here is"	/pe/	"shut up"
/dü/	"hard"	/mo/	"word"	/pi/	"more"

/ɛ/ [ɛ]

/fɛ/	"to do"	/mɛ/	"nun"	/pɛ/	"priest"
/fɔ̀/	"strong"	/mẽ/	"here is"	/pa/	"step"

/a/ [a]

/la/	"there"	/sa/	"that"	/pa/	"not"
/li/	"to read"	/sœ/	"sister"	/pɔ̀/	"harbor"

2.112 Back rounded

For the back rounded vowels the following examples of contrasts have been found.

/ɔ̀/ [ɔ̀]

/kɔ̀/	"body"	/fɔ̀/	"strong"	/mɔ̀/	"dead"
/ka/	"may"	/fɛ/	"iron"	/mo/	"word"

/o/ [o]

/bo/	"kiss"	/do/	"back"	/mo/	"word"
/bœ/	"butter"	/dü/	"hard"	/mu/	"soft"

/u/ [u]

/ku/	"neck"	/mu/	"soft"	/su/	"drunk"
/kœ/	"heart"	/ma/	"mast"	/sü/	"sure"

2.113 Front rounded

In all the formal descriptions of Haitian Creole that are known to me, the phonemics of the vowel system stops at the two preceding series. Analysists confronted with the presence in the inventory of the front rounded series attribute to them the status of exceptions or loans.

2.1131 Hall's treatment

In Hall 1953:17, that author says that the front rounded vowels occur *occasionally* in words he considers as gallicisms or loans, but that *normally, in ordinary pronunciation*, they are replaced by the corresponding unrounded variety.

2.1132 d'Ans treatment

Marcel d'Ans (d'Ans 1968:59-64), recognizes that they should be part of a phonemic inventory based on his corpus, but decides to eliminate them from his phonological system. He gives three reasons for his decision:

a. His informants had the three vowels, but all of them belong to educated urban circles (d'Ans 1968:64)

b. Hall's analysis, where the front rounded vowels are described as loans or gallicisms (Hall 1953:17)

c. Elodie Jourdain's opinion (Jourdain 1956:59), that the use of the front rounded vowels in Martinican Creole is a change that took place after the beginning of the century.

It seems to me unlikely that all the Haitians living with d'Ans in the Republic of Zaire belonged to the educated urban circles, and that no other type of informant was available. Moreover, Hall's views that d'Ans calls to his support are erroneous and have been contradicted by the more recent field work findings of Albert Valdman , according to whom the front rounded vowels are used by people who know absolutely no French. (Valdman 1967 in:MLA Newsletter 11:6). Valdman's 1967 observations were later reaffirmed by Valdman in 1969 (in: Hymes ed. 1971:61).

I have been able to elicit material not only from educated urban informants, but also from the illiterate proletariat. In spite of my previous familiarity with the issue I have been amazed upon systematic observation, by the frequency of occurrence of the front rounded vowels. The trend appears to be toward their more frequent occurrence.

In regard to the Martinican phenomenon, it hardly bears on the phonemic status of Haitian front rounded vowels.

2.1133 Treatment proposed here

I am willing to understand d'Ans's exclusion of the front rounded vowels from the analysis, as designed to reduce the language to its most simplified core system. Hall's calling the words in which the undesired sounds occur *loans* or *borrowings* is no solution. Fries and Pike warn about the incorrectness of this approach in a synchronic analysis.

> *The description of a word as a loan is a mixture of approaches: the mixing of purely descriptive analysis with dialect study, comparative work, or historical study.*

> *Dialect mixture cannot be ... legitimately affirmed to exist unless two systems have previously been studied separately. It follows that in a purely descriptive analysis of one particular language as spoken by a bilingual, no loans are discovereable.*
>
> *Such statements may appear to be truisms, but they by no means go without saying. Linguists often call items loan words in grammars which are purportedly purely descriptive of one dialect.* (Fries and Pike 1949: 31)

The following front rounded phonemic series must then be recognized:

/ü/ [ü]

/pü/	"pus"	/mü/	"wall"	/sü/	"sour"
/pa/	"not"	/mɛ/	"nun"	/si/	"if"

/ö/ [ö]

/zö/	"egg"	/nö/	"knot"	/dö/	"two"
/zo/	"bone"	/nu/	"we"	/di/	"say"

/œ/ [œ]

/kœ/	"heart"	/sœ/	"sister"	/pœ/	"afraid"
/kö/	"tail"	/se/	"it is"	/pɛ/	"priest"

The main difficulty in recognizing the front rounded series is that each word which contains [ü], [ö] or [œ] is always matched by another phonetic representation with [i], [e], or [ɛ] respectively, while the reverse is not true. For example:

[büro] is also [biro]

[plüm] is also [plim]

but [siro] is never *[süro]

[liv] is never *[lüv]

The obvious way to circumvent complete overlapping is to claim (1) that each word with a front rounded vowel in its phonemic representation is matched by an additional representation containing the corresponding front

unrounded vowel, and (2) that the morphophonemes, |ü| |ö| |œ| are mapped onto the phonemes /ü, i/, /ö, e/ and /œ ɛ/ respectively, while the morphophonemes |i| |e| |ɛ| are always and only mapped onto the phonemes /i/, /e/, /ɛ/. This situation is quite similar to English *witch* vs *which* where *which* is either /hwitʃ/ or /witʃ/, but *witch* is always /witʃ/.

2.1134 Sociolinguistic variation

The morphophonemic solution has more advantages in it than the obvious methodological ones, because, besides allowing for an accurate and truthful phonemization of the vowels, it conveniently brings to the surface a neglected aspect of creoles: it illustrates quite convincingly the great deal of sociolinguistic variation which characterizes those languages in general and Haitian in particular.

Usage involving the front rounded vowels in Haitian, because of its prestige and social implications, deserves an extensive sociolinguistic investigation in situ, following, for example, the methods used by Labov in New-York City (Labov 1966).

2.12 NASAL VOWELS

The phonetic inventory of nasal vowels included

[ĩ], [ẽ], [ɛ̃], [ã], [ɑ̃], [ö̃], [œ̃], [ɔ̃], [õ], [ũ].

No contrast having been established between [ẽ] and [ɛ̃], they can be considered allophones of the same phoneme. The same conclusion is applicable for [õ] and [ɔ̃], [ö̃] and [œ̃]. Nasalized [ɑ̃] being the only realization found in the language of a relatively back [ɑ], and since it occurs in the same environments and does not contrast with [ã], they can be put together.

I was able to find one contrasting pair: /ũsĩ/ "female vodoo assistant" /usi/ "you are sure". Besides, all my informants have rejected different realizations of nasal [ĩ] such as [ẽ] or non nasalized [i]. This, added to distributional concerns, has motivated my decision to recognize the phonemic status of /ĩ/. Additional motivation in favor of the recognition of /ĩ/ can be found at the end of B 2.332.

Finally, there are two possible final interpretations of the nasalized vowels in general:

a. they are unit phonemes
b. they are simultaneous "clusters" of an oral vowel with a nasalization feature.

I believe that b. is the better choice on both theoretical and methodological grounds. Since we have already recognized oral vowel phonemes, the "cluster" treatment circumvents the necessity of recognizing additional phonemes. The nasal vowel phonemes are then:

/ĩ/ [i] + [˜]	
/ũsĩ/ "female vodoo assistant"	/usi/ "you are sure"
/pĩga/ "don't"	/pigra/ "fatter"
/ẽ/ [e] or [ɛ] + [˜]	
/pẽ/ "bread"	/pe/ "shut up"
/frẽ/ "brake"	/fre/ "cool"
/œ̃/ [œ] or [ö] + [˜]	
/kɛkzœ̃/ "some"	/kɛkzö/ "some eggs"

/lalœ̃/ "alum"	/lalœ/ "it will be time"

/ã/ [a] or [ɑ] + [˜]

/pã/ "piece of wall"	/pa/ "step"
/kã/ "edge"	/ka/ "may" (v)

/õ/ [o] or [ɔ] + [˜]

/bõ/ "good"	/bo/ "kiss"
/rõ/ "round"	/ro/ "tall"

/ũ/ [u] + [˜]

/kũ/ "when"	/ku/ "neck"
/ũfɔ/ "vodoo temple"	/ufo/ "you are strong"

2.2 Semiconsonants

This class of phonemes will include what was phonetically described as semivowels. Semivowels in general can be considered phonologically as vowels or as consonants. However, in this analysis the only relationship between the vowels and what I previously called semivowels is the common set of articulatory dimensions used to describe them. The semivowels distribution and functions are purely consonantic.
Guided by principles set by Hockett 1955, where a semiconsonant is described as occurring as satellite and margin but not as nucleus (Hockett 1955:75), I have chosen the semiconsonant classification and posited three such phonemes:

/j/ /ɥ/ /w/

2.21 VOICELESSNESS AND NASALIZATION OF SEMI-CONSONANTS.

The voicelessness observed in [j̥] and [ɥ̊] in words like: [aksj̥õ] "action" [sɥ̊e] "perspire" is due to progressive assimilation in the environment of voiceless consonants: allophonic interpretation is indicated.

The nasalized form [w̃] is a case of progressive or regressive assimilation in the vicinity of nasalized vowels and should be considered allophonic variation. However the case of [ʒ] is more complicated and will be discussed under B 2.332

2.22 THE STATUS OF THE FRONT ROUNDED SEMICONSONANT

The controversial status of the front rounded vowels finds its repercussion when one has to analyze /ẅ/ and the same arguments that were invoked in the case of the vowels are applicable to this similarly described semiconsonant. Again the same objections are presented against its recognizition as a phoneme.

Robert Hall, for instance, says that /ẅ/ occurs *occasionally* in pronunciations that he calls gallicized, and gives the example of

/Ẅit/ 'eight' instead of *normal* /wit/ (Hall 1953:18)

If Hall's implication of what is *normal* were correct, the problem could be morphophonemically solved is a manner quite similar to that used for the front rounded vowels. Hall, instead of further searching the problem, probably thought of it as not belonging to the ideally simplified dialect he had isolated.

My investigation has shown that the alternation problem is far from being that simple and that usage of [ẅ] is much wider than what Hall may have been led to understand. I have discovered more than one type of alternation:

An alternation /ẅ/ ‡ /w/ is found in:

/zẄit/ ‡ /zwit/ "oyster"

/Ẅit/ ⇄ /wit/ "eight"
/
/kẄit/ ⇄ /kwit/ "to cook"

/lãnẄit/ ⇄ /lãnwit/ "night"

/zegẄi/ ⇄ /zegwi/ "needle"

/sẄe/ ⇄ /swe/ "to perspire"

/minẄi/ ⇄ /minwi/ "midnight"

/nẄi/ ⇄ /nwi/ "to bother"

/bisẄit/ ⇄ /biswit/ "biscuit"

A different alternation is found in:

/laplẄi/ ⇄ /lapli/ "rain"

/epẄi/ ⇄ /epi/ "then"

/kẄizin/ ⇄ /kizin/ "kitchen"

/kẄizinjɛz/ ⇄ /kizinjɛz/ "cook"

/ʒẄijɛ/ ⇄ /ʒijɛ/ "July"

/ʒẄẽ/ ⇄ /ʒẽ/ "June"

/kẄije/ ⇄ /kijɛ/ "spoon"

/pẄi/ ⇄ /pi/ "water well"

/tẄil/ ⇄ /til/ "shingle"

/kõdẄi/ ⇄ /kõdi/ "to drive"

It is important to remark that during the whole course of the elicitations most informants used the forms containing [Ẅ] more often than the alternates. Also, interestingly enough, the alternates

/wit/ "eight"

/kwit/ "to cook"

/nwi/ "to bother"

/minwi/ "midnight"

were not volunteered spontaneously by the informants. They seemed reluctant to accept them when I mentioned them, and if they accepted them, they attached a rural label while insisting that most people "don't speak that way" and would rather use:

/ẅit/ /kẅit/ /nẅi/ /minẅi/

The problem seems to be that there is an alternation of [ẅ] and [w] and that some alteration of [ẅ] with zero is also attested. Both types are clearly illustrated in the examples, but there is no phonological conditioning discoverable in the available data which represents nearly all such words currently used in Creole. Their almost equal numerical distribution precludes the establishment of a rule versus exceptions status. The drawing of the preceeding lists is in my opinion the best solution the synchronic analyst can get. In this analysis from now on, the words involved will be phonologically transcribed with /ẅ/.

2.23 SEMICONSONANT PHONEMIC CONTRASTS

The phonemic status of the semiconsonants can be verified in the following pairs:

/j/ [j] [j̥]

/mjɛl/	"honey"	/mwɛl/	"marrow"
/jɛ/	"yesterday"	/fɛ/	"iron"
/baj/	"give"	/bal/	"ball"

/w/ [w] [w̃] [w̥]

/wɛ/	"see"	/tɛ/	"earth"
/bwa/	"wood"	/bra/	"arm"
/kaw/	"crow"	/kaj/	"house"

/ẅ/ [ẅ] [ẅ̥]

/ẅit/	"eight"	/vit/	"fast"
/pẅi/	"water well"	/pri/	"price"
/pẅi/	"water well"	/pli/	"more"

The discussion of the status of /j/ is found under B 2.332.

2.3 Consonants

2.31 STOPS: INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

a. The distribution of [t^s] and [d^z] being limited to the environment before high-front vowels or semiconsonants where they alone can occur, their inclusion as allophones of /t/ and /d/ is indicated.

b. It is necessary to recognize an allophone [ŋ] as member of the phoneme /g/, occurring in final position after a nasalized vowel. Hall 1953:22 reports the production of [ŋ] optionally after a nasalized vowel. Instead, I have found minimal pairs:

/malẽ/	[malẽ]	"crafty"
/malẽg/	[malẽŋ]	"sore"
/domẽ/	[domẽ]	"back of the hand"
/domẽg/	[domẽŋ]	"Domingue" a name
/trẽ/	[trẽ]	"train"
/trẽg/	[trẽŋ]	"rod"
/merẽ/	[merẽ]	"type of wood"
/merẽg/	[merẽŋ]	"merengue"
/kõ/	[kõ] "	"when"
/kõg/	[kõŋ]	"conger"

/tizõ/	[tizõ]	"nagging"
/tizõg/	[tizoŋ]	"small nail"
/pẽ/	[pẽ]	"bread"
/pẽg/	[peŋ]	"stingy"
/sörẽ/	[sörẽ]	"dew"
/sörẽg/	[sörẽŋ]	"syringe"

Hall transcribes:

/zepẽ/ "hatpin", /lõ/ "long", /dumẽ/ "doomeng" (Hall 1953:22)

Those words I would transcribe instead:

/zepẽg/ [zepeŋ], /lõg/ [lõŋ], /domẽg/ [domeŋ].

2.311 List of stops

The stops are listed below and have their phonemic status attested by the corresponding examples:

/p/ [p]

/pɛ/	"priest"	/suple/	"please"	/kap/	"kite"
/tɛ]	"earth"	/sufle/	"to blow"	/kaj/	"house"

/b/ [b]

/baj/	"give"	/labu/	"mud"	/bab/	"beard"
/ʃaj/	"charge"	/laku/	"yard"	/bal/	"ball"

/t/ [t] [t^s]

/ti/	"small"	/atò/	"then"	/bat/	"beat"
/fi/	"girl"	/abò/	"on board"	/bag/	"ring"

/d/ [d] [d^z]

/dü/	"hard"	/gade/	"look"	/rad/	"clothes"

/mü/	"ripe"	/gate/	"spoil"	/ras/	"race"

/k/ [k]

/ku/	"neck"	/pake/	"package"	/kòk/	"rooster"
/su/	"drunk"	/pale/	"speak"	/kòd/	"rope"

/g/ [g] [ŋ]

/gõ/	"door hinge"	/lage/	"free"	/mɛg/	"skinny"
/bõ/	"good"	/lame/	"army"	/mɛs/	"mass"

2.32 FRICATIVES

All six fricatives identified on the phonetic level acquire phonemic status as shown in the following contrastive sets:

/f/ [f]

/fò/	"strong"	/defo/	"defect"	/saf/	"greedy"
/mò/	"dead"	/depo/	"deposit"	/sal/	"dirty"

/v/ [v]

/vis/	"vice"	/lave/	"to wask"	/pwav/	"pepper"
/sis/	"six"	/lage/	"to free"	/pwal/	"hair"

/s/ [s]

/sjɛl/	"sky"	/lise/	"lyceum"	/ras/	"race"
/mjɛl/	"honey"	/lide/	"idea"	/rad/	"clothes"

/z/ [z]

/zẽ/	"fish hook"	/koze/	"chat"	/lɛz/	"piece"
/rẽ/	"kidney"	/kote/	"place"	/lɛt/	"milk"

/ʃ/ [ʃ]

/ʃu/	"cabbage"	/raʃe/	"uproot"	/roʃ/	"rock"
/su/	"drunk"	/raʒe/	"weed"	/rob/	"dress"

/ʒ/

/ʒòn/	"yellow"	/mãʒe/	"eat"	/laʒ/	"age"
/bòn/	"maid"	/mãke/	"miss"	/laj/	"garlic"

2.33 SONORANTS

Some preliminary discussion is indicated before listing the sonorants.

2.331 The case of syllabic [m̩]

There does not seem to be any proper phonological approach that would justify the consideration of [m̩] as an allophone of /m/. After careful examination of the occurrences, I have come to the conclusion that stress cannot be used in the determination of syllabic [m̩]. (See stress:B 5.2). Neither is it correct to introduce only for this purpose a special juncture without enough phonetic justification in its favor. Syllabic [m̩] then presents a problem.

Unfortunately Robert A. Hall, Jr. ignores entirely the issue and what he transcribes as /msje/ "Sir, Mr." (Hall 1953:21) is really a two-syllable word heard as [m̩'sje]. Moreover, even if one were tolerant enough to accept a one-syllable [msje], Hall's lack of analysis leaves his readers with no phonological representations for such pairs as:

['mwa]	"month"	[m̩'wa]	"I am King"
['mwɛl]	"marrow"	[m̩'wɛl]	"I see it"
[mrẽ'mẽm]	"myself"	[m̩rẽ'mẽm]	"I love myself"

Confronted with the consonantic syllabicity problem, Marcel d'Ans (d'Ans 1968:88-91) gives to it a morphological solution in which he makes /m̩/ a *monème* of the *archimonème* /MWẼ/ "me". Following the same morphological approach, he expands the solution to include what he transcribes as /n̩/ /l̩/ /w̩/, *monèmes* of corresponding *archimonèmes* meaning "us", "him", "you" respectively. Such expansion, in spite of d'Ans' claim of having heard those sounds, must be based on an assumed analogy of pattern, rather than on observable phonetic facts: my informants do not show any evidence of d'Ans' phonetic syllabics /n̩/ /l̩/ and /w̩/. I have tested the occurrences of those phonemes as described by d'Ans, and the examples he gives do not match my findings. His examples (d'Ans 1968:48):

"m̩-kẽbe-l̩	'je l'ai attrapé'
li-te-bo-w̩	'il t'avait embrassé'
ãn̩-ʃãte	'chantons, chantez' "

as far as I could verify them are instead:

/m̩kẽ'bel/ /lite'bow/ /ãnʃã'te/

with non-syllabic phones [l] [w] and [n] closely linked to the preceeding vowels. D'Ans' solution considering syllabic /m̩/ always as a variant of /mwẽ/ fails also when tested against the data: my investigation shows that contrary to d'Ans' analysis, /m̩/ in the word /m̩sje/ "Mr., Sir" cannot be replaced by /mwẽ/. If the substitution is done one obtains */mwẽsje/ that does not exist. D'Ans' statement that syllabic /m̩/ can only be the *monème* meaning "me" (d'Ans 1968:48) is ill-founded synchronically.

Finally, in addition to the preceeding objections, my own methodological principles do not allow me to take the level-mixing approach that d'Ans has used. The best solution seems to be the recognition of one syllabic sonorant /m̩/.

2.332 Is there a sonorant /ɲ/ in Creole?

Both Hall 1953 and D'Ans 1968 list a phoneme /ɲ/ in their inventory. Both have given to it a unique allophonic representation [j̃] in all its environments. The phonetic description is correct, since the degree of constriction of this articulation does not justify its representation as [ɲ]. Here, I want to review the pros and cons of the recognition of a sonorant phoneme /ɲ/.

Since Hall's inventory is simply a list and is not accompanied by a discussion, I do not know the reasons for his choice: I have to decline to discuss them. Marcel d'Ans (d'Ans 1968:70) brings the following arguments in favor of /ɲ/

a. Pattern congruity with the other nasals.

b. Symmetry.

c. Finally his most important reason:

> *"... si nous avions considéré /ɲ/ comme une*
> *réalisation de /j/ au contact de voyelle nasale*
> *et non comme un phonème distinct nous aurions*
> *dû poser sur le plan phonologique la forme /sĩjal/*
> *au lieu de /siɲal/, ce qui, d'une part nous*
> *aurait mis en contradiction avec l'étymologie*
> *la plus évidente, mais nous aurait également*
> *contraint d'autre part et en raison de ce seul*
> *cas, à poser un phonème /ĩ/ qui ne figure pas*
> *dans notre inventaire des phonèmes vocaliques."*
> (D'Ans 1968:70)

While I recognize that pattern congruity and symmetry may in some instances cause the scale to tip in a particular direction, my methodology does not allow them to make precedence over phonetic realism. His reason c. does not stand synchronically or phonologically.

Synchronically, d'Ans is prejudicing his conclusion by using historical data when he argues for etymology. The danger of his etymological approach is proven when one observes that Haitian children from Creole speaking environments, who are in the process of learning French, have trouble articulating French words like signal or agneau with the proper constriction, their rendition of French gn tending to be [j̃], if they ever succeed in nasalizing that sound at all; to the dispair of their teachers, they denasalize gn after oral vowels to produce pronunciations such as [ajo] for French agneau. As a matter of fact this tendency is not found only in children: the great majority of those Haitians who have only a superficial knowledge of French exhibit the same alternation, which, I believe, is due to the absence of the articulation [ɲ] in their native system.

Had d'Ans elicited a more complete corpus, he would not have stated that words like /sĩjal/ represent the unique case justifying the positing of a vowel phoneme /ĩ/ which by the way is recognized by Hall. Consider the pair:

/usi/ "you are sure" /ũsĩ/ "female vodoo assistant".

More phonological motivation in favor of the recognition of /ĩ/ is the complementary distribution of [g] and [ŋ].

#gv-	[gita]	/gita/	"guitar"
-vg#	[fig]	/fig/	"banana"
-vgv-	[migɛl]	/migɛl/	"Michael"
-ṽŋ#	[zepẽŋ]	/zepẽg/ "	"pin"
-ṽgv-	[pĩgɑ]	/pĩgɑ/	"don't"

where # represents word boundary, v is any vowel and - is any phoneme. Since the distributional evidence shows that [ŋ] is restricted to post-nasal final position, I wonder how d'Ans would represent /pĩga/ "don't" without a phoneme /ĩ/?

It seemes to me that d'Ans justifies his positing of a /ɲ/ on false grounds. Based only on his arguments, one needs to recognize just an allophonic [j̃] after nasal vowels.

However, although I disagree with his reasoning, I do believe that relevant phonemic distinctions need to be formally established.

First, I have noticed the following variants for the same words:

[mõtaj] or [mõtaj̃] "mountain"
[kãpaj] or [kãpaj̃] "campaign"
[ʃãpaj] or [ʃãpaj̃] "champagne"

where there is no preceding nasal vowels to justify an allophonic [j̃]

Second, I have elicited items like:

[bõbõjo]	"the goodies"
[mãmãjo]	"the mothers"
[pẽjo]	"the breads"
[põjo]	"the bridges"

where obviously, no nasalization of [j] can be observed in spite of the preceding nasal vowels. Also, pairs like:

[pẽjo] "the breads" [pẽj̃jo] "the combs"

must be considered.

There is thus the need for distinct phonemic representations. But instead of a sonorant /ɲ/ [j̃], I will adopt a semiconsonant phoneme /j̃/ to be interpreted, similarly to the nasalized vowels (B 2. 12), as a cluster of /j/ + nasalization feature.

2.333 List of sonorants

/m/ [m]

/marẽn/	"god mother"	/zãmi/	"friend"	/pam/	"mine"
/parẽn/	"god father"	/zãgi/	"eel"	/pal/	"his"

/m̩/ [m̩]

/m̩wa/	"I am king"	/m̩wɛl/	"I see him"	/m̩je/	"I am"
/mwa/	"month"	/mwɛl/	"narrow"	/mje/	"better"

/l/ [l]

/la/	"there"	/ale/	"go"	/kal/	"beating"
/sa/	"that"	/ase/	"enough"	/kat/	"card"

/n/ [n]

/nwa/	"black"	/ane/	"year"	/pan/	"ours"
/mwa/	"month"	/ale/	"go"	/paw/	"yours"

/r/ [r]

/ro/	"tall"	/bare/	"to fence"	/mare/	"to tighten"
/mo/	"word"	/kare/	"square"	/maʃe/	"market"

2.34 THE AFFRICATE ISSUE

The analysis of affricates is controversial. Solutions are often adopted on the basis of criteria specifically related to the individual languages being analysed. After reviewing what others have proposed, I will present here what I think is the most appropriate solution for Haitian Creole.

2.341 d'Ans, Hall, Valdman.

Marcel d'Ans (d'Ans 1968:50) adopts a two phoneme "/d+ž/" solution and declares that he would have similarly analyzed the voiceless counterpart had he found it in his corpus.

Robert A. Hall, Jr. does not discuss the issue explicitely in his linear phonemes analysis which occupies less than 3 pages of the book (Hall 1953:17-19). But on page 21, under "Occurrence of Consonants", he lists a /tʃ/ cluster with /tʃõnɛl/ "parasite" as an example. What D'Ans has phonemicized as "/dž/" is found in Hall 1953:19 as "/dj/." Hall's example is /djab/ "devil".

Albert Valdman (Valdman 1964:91) chooses the unit solution and posits a voiceless /č/ and a voiced /ʒ/.

While I disagree partially with d'Ans, I realize that he just recognizes that a particular sound is not in his corpus. Hall's two-way solution, however, grants two completely different phonemic representations to two phonetically similar entities that differ only in voice. Hall might have been influenced by Comhaire-Sylvain who collaborated to his writing the book. In Comhaire-Sylvain 1936:22 there is a list of symbols where she introduces a *č* described as "... *correspondant au ch anglais"*, and a *dž "correspondant au j anglais"*. Because of the two types of symbols she uses, she leads one to believe that, for her, the initial sounds of chair and John have more than a voiceless/voiced contrast. Hall's choice of two phonetically contrasting symbols for two phonetically similar sounds might be a continuation of Comhaire-Sylvain's inconsistency.

2.342 Solution proposed here.

Up to the most recent analyses of Haitian Creole, the discussions involving the affricates have been based on sounds generally transcribed or considered to be transcribable as follows:

[tʃa'tʃa]	or	[tˢj̥a'tˢj̥a]	"maracas"
[tʃõ'nɛl]	or	[tˢj̥õ 'nɛl]	"parasite"
[tʃa'ka]	or	[tˢj̥a'ka]	"native meal"
['tʃul]	or	['tˢj̥ul]	"ladies man"
[tʃo'fil]	or	[tˢj̥o'fil]	"Theophile"
[pe'tʃõ]	or	[pe'tˢj̥õ]	"Petion" (name)
[ra'tʃɛ]	or	[ra'tˢj̥ɛ]	"rat catcher"
[dʒe'vo]	or	[dᶻje'vo]	"initiation room"
['dʒab]	or	['dᶻjab]	"devil"
[dʒõ'dʒõ]	or	[dᶻjõ'dᶻjõ]	"mushroom"
['dʒõl]	or	['dᶻjõl]	"mouth"
[ra'dʒo]	or	[ra'dᶻjo]	"radio"
['dʒaz]	or	['dᶻjaz]	"jazz"
[bõ'dʒe]	or	[bõ'dᶻje]	"God"

The list, approved by 9 informants and rejected by none, includes "radio" and "Pétion", which for the informant used for Johnson and Ferere 1972 did not alternate, remaining only [rad^{z}jo] and [pet^{s}jõ]. If this new uniformity was really general, one would simply recognize that for every word with [tʃ] or [d$_{ʒ}$] there is a variant with [t^{s}j̣] or [d^{z}j] and conclude by phonemicizing them accordingly. Since I tend to prefer the cluster treatment of affricates when it is possible, that solution seems rather attractive to me.

The uniformity of alternation however is broken by examples such as:

[kaot'ʃu]	"rubber"	not * [kao't^{s}j̣u]
[pòt'ʃam]	"room door"	not * [pò't^{s}jam]
[pot'ʃam]	"night pot"	not *[po't^{s}jam]
[ad$_{ʒ}$ü'dã]	"warrant officer"	not * [ad^{z}ju'dã]
[ad$_{ʒ}$i'dã]	"warrant officer"	not * [ad^{z}ji'dã]
[ad3ek'tif]	"adjective"	not * [ad^{z}jek'tif]

The starred forms were rejected by all the informants. Such evidence was responsible for my discovering that we are dealing here with two different phonetic phenomena, two different types of articulation: the forms that have alternates, the first list, contain a real affricate, what Hockett calls a "*ǯ type phone*" (Hockett 1955:161) while the non-alternating forms, the second list, contain sequences t + ʃ and d + ʒ that the careful listener can easily hear. It is imperative then to retranscribe the first list as:

[ča'ča] or [t^{s}j̣a't^{s}j̣a]

[čõ'nɛl] or [t^{s}j̣õ'nɛl] etc.

['ǯab] or ['d^{z}jab]

[ǯõ'ʒõ] or [d^{z}jõ'd^{z}jõ] etc.

while the second list remains:

[kaot'ʃu] "rubber"

[adʒu'dã] "warrant officer" etc.

The phonemization of the words of the second list is obvious; it can only be /tʃ/ /dʒ/ with the corresponding allophones [tʃ] [dʒ]. Either phonemic realization of the words of the first list can be chosen as basic, leaving the other one as a variant. Writing /č/ and /ǯ/ would however, involve the recognition of two new phonemes and one new phonemic type of consonant, which I am not willing to do. I will use in this analysis the /tj/ /dj/ phonemization with the respective allophones [t^{s}j̥] [č], [d^{z}j] [ǯ].

Examples:

/tjatja/	[ča'ča]	[t^{s}j̥a't^{s}j̥a]	"maracas"
/tjõnɛl/	[čõ'nɛl]	[t^{s}j̥o'nɛl]	"parasite"
/djab/	['ǯab]	['d^{z}jab]	"devil"
/djõdjõ/	[ǯõ'ǯõ]	[d^{z}jõ'd^{z}õ]	"mushroom"
/kaotʃu/	[kaot'ʃu]		"rubber"
/adʒudã/	[adʒu'dã]		"warrant officer"

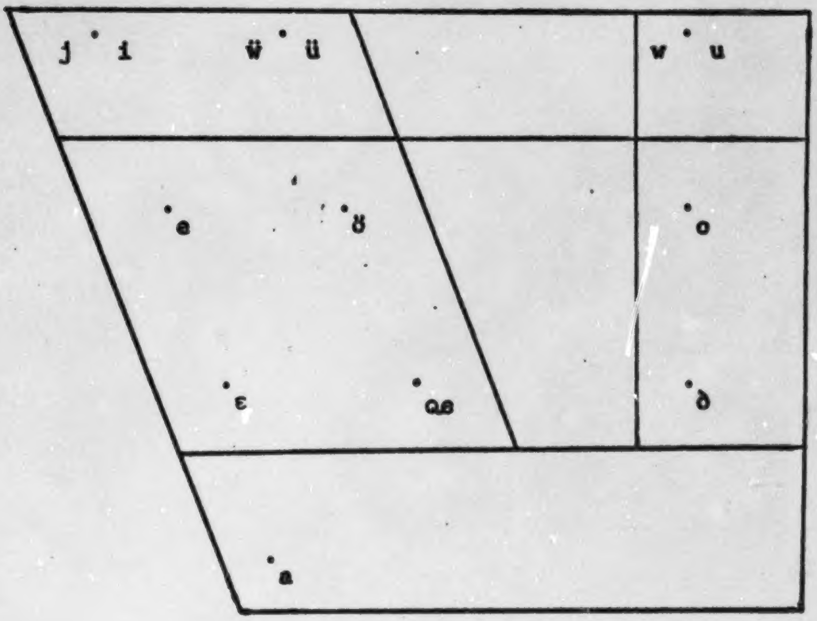
2.4 Figures

Figure I: Consonants

	Voiceless	p	t	k
stops:				
	Voiced	b	d	g
	Voiceless	f	s	ʃ
	Voiced	v	z	ʒ

Sonorants:	**Oral**			**l**	**r**
	nasal	**m**	**ṃ**	**n**	

Figure II: Vowels and Semi-Consonants



This chart not intended to be construed as a precise articulatory diagram; rather, it is intended only to illustrate the positions of the phonemes relative to one another.

3. FEATURES: FROM PHONETIC TO PHONEMIC.

3.1 Phonetic features

Based on the inventory, the following phonetic features can be isolated:

Voicing

Nasalization

Syllabicity

Consonant manner features:	stop
	fricative
	affricate
	sonorant
Consonant place features:	bilabial
	dental
	labio-dental
	apico-dental
	fronto-palatal
	dorso-velar
Vowel features:	tongue positions (front, back)
	tongue heights (high, upper mid, lower mid, low)
	lip-rounding

All those terms are used with their traditional meanings.

3.2 Toward phonemic features

The following phonemic features are used:

3.21 VOICING

/po/	"skin"	/bo/	"kiss"
/te/	"tea"	/de/	"thimble"
/ka/	"may"	/ga/	"railroad station"
/tap/	"pat"	/tab/	"table"
/kat/	"card"	/kad/	"portable bed"
/bak/	"wood tub"	/bag/	"ring"

/fil/	"tread"	/vil/	"city"
/sẽ/	"saint"	/zẽ/	"fish hook
/piʃõ/	"bad luck"	/piʒõ/	"pidgeon"

3.22 NASALIZATION

It is present in the consonants:

/m/ /m̩/ /n/, in the listed vowels (B 2.12) and in the semiconsonant /j̃/.

In addition note the contrasts in the following pairs:

/pe/	"shut-up"	/pẽ/	"bread"
/pa/	"not"	/pã/	"piece of wall"
/bo/	"kiss"	/bõ/	"good
/u/	"you" (sing.)	/ũ/	"one"
/usi/	"you are sure"	/ũsĩ/	"vodoo woman"

3.23 SYLLABICITY

As previously discussed under B 2.331, a phonemic feature syllabic is needed to separate /m̩/ from /m/:

/mwɛl/	"marrow"	/m̩wɛl/	"I see it."

It is also characteristic of all vowels. This analysis grants no syllabicity to the semi‿consonants: the feature syllabic will separate the vowels from the otherwise similarly described semi‿consonants. This solution is adopted as an alternative to the use of a stress phoneme (in the solution and the notation) for every syllable.

3.24 CONSONANT MANNER FEATURES

Stop		Fricative		Sonorant	
/pɛ/	"priest"	/fɛ/	"do"		
/bɛ/	"butter"	/vɛ/	"worm"	/mɛ/	"nun"

Stop		Fricative		Sonorant	
/tε/	"soil"	/sε/	"sister"		
/dö/	"two"	/zö/	"egg"	/nö/	"knot"
/kε/	"heart"	/ʃε/	"expensive"		
/gẽ/	"there is"	/ʒẽ/	"june"	/rẽ/	"kidney"

3.25 CONSONANT PLACE FEATURES

Labial		Dental		Palatal	
/pε/	"priest"	/tε/	"soil"	/kε/	"heart"
/bã/	"bench"	/dã/	"tooth"	/gã/	"glove"
/mu/	"soft"	/lu/	"heavy"	/ru/	"wheel"
/fε/	"do"	/sε/	"sister"	/ʃε/	"expensive"
/vẽ/	"twenty"	/zẽ/	"fish hook"	/ʒẽ/	"June"

The six phonetic place of articulation features (bilabial, apico-dental, dorso-velar, labio-dental, dental, fronto-palatal) are reduced to three phonemic features; Bilabial and labio-dental can be grouped together under one labial category, because all contrasts involving them already include distinction by manner. Apico-dental and dental, dorso-velar and fronto-palatal can be labelled respectively dental and palatal for the same reason. The three phonemic place features are then: labial, dental, palatal.

3.26 TONGUE POSITION AND LIP-ROUNDING, APERTURE

Vowels will be described in terms of the features rounding, front or back position, and aperture (articulatory opening) 1, 2, 3, and 4. Here is a contrastive set:

/pi/	"more"
/pe/	"shut-up"
/pɛ/	"priest"
/pa/	"step"
/pü/	"pus"
/dö/	"two"
/pœ/	"to fear"
/pu/	"louse"
/po/	"skin"
/pò/	"harbor

3.3 List of phonemic features

The phonemic features are:

1 - Voice
2 - Nasal
3 - Syllabic
4 - Stop
5 - Fricative
6 - Sonorant
7 - Dental
8 - Labial
9 - Palatal
10 - Aperture
11 - Round
12 - Front vs. Back

3.4 Feature description of the phonemes.

In the following description it is understood that all syllabics, semiconsonants and sonorants are voiced.

3.41 VOWELS:

/i/: Aperture 1 front unrounded syllabic
/e/: Aperture 2 front unrounded syllabic
/ɛ/: Aperture 3 front unrounded syllabic
/a/: Aperture 4 front unrounded syllabic
/ü/: Aperture 1 front rounded syllabic
/ö/: Aperture 2 front rounded syllabic
/œ/: Aperture 3 front rounded syllabic
/u/: Aperture 1 back syllabic

/o/: Aperture 2 back syllabic

/ɔ/: Aperture 3 back syllabic

/ĩ/: /i/ + ~

/ẽ/: /e/ + ~

/ã/: /a/ + ~

/œ̃/: /œ/ + ~

/ũ/: /u/ + ~

/õ/: /o/ + ~

3.42 SEMICONSONANTS

/j/: Aperture 1 front unrounded

/ɥ/: Aperture 1 front rounded

/w/: Aperture 1 back

/j̃/: /j/ + ~

3.43 CONSONANTS

/p/: voiceless labial stop

/b/: voiced labial stop

/t/: voiceless dental stop

/d/: voiced dental stop

/k/: voiceless palatal stop

/g/: voiced palatal stop

/f/: voiceless labial fricative

/v/: voiced labial fricative

/s/: voiceless dental fricative

/z/: voiced dental fricative

/ʃ/: voiceless palatal fricative

/ʒ/: voiced palatal fricative

/m/: labial nasal sonorant

/m̩/: labial nasal syllabic sonorant

/l/: dental sonorant

/n/: dental nasal sonorant

/r/: palatal sonorant

4. DISTRIBUTION

4.1 Syllable Structure

Haitian Creole has the following syllable structures:

v	/u/	"you"
cv	/ba/	"stockings"
ccv	/gro/	"big"
cccv	/skrüpül/	"scrupule"
c	/m̩/	"I"
vc	/ãn/	"let us"
cvc	/sak/	"bag"
ccvc	/tris/	"sad"
cccvc	/skrib/	"scribe"
cvcc	/boks/	"boxing"

Except for syllabic /m̩/ and for some sounds used in certain special contexts such as [s̩] to call attention or [ʃ] to request silence, the peak of a syllable is always a vowel. There are no complex nuclei: two successive vowels act as nuclei of two separate syllables.

My classification includes ten different types while Hall's (Hall 1953:20) and d'Ans's (d'Ans 1968:49) have only eight. Hall does not list cccv, and d'Ans does not have cvcc. Neither recognizes a c type in their inventory, since neither has an /m̩/.

4.2 Occurrences of Phonemes

Vowels are always nuclei of syllables. All consonants except /m̩/, and all semiconsonants can be onsets. All consonants, except /r/, and /m̩/ have been found as codas. By definition syllabic /m̩/ occurs always as a syllable by itself. The semiconsonants /j/ and /w/ have occurred as codas in the data, but not /ɥ/.

4.3 Consonant Clusters

The 6 stops and the fricatives /f/ and /v/ occur as first members of syllable initial clusters with the non-nasal sonorants /l/ and /r/, except that there is no * /tl/ cluster:

/plat/	"flat"	------	------	/kle/	"key"
/pre/	"near"	/tris/	"sad"	/krejõ/	"pencil"
/blije/	"forget"	/dlo/	"water"	/glɔb/	"globe"
/bri/	"noise"	/drɛt/	"straight"	/grɔg/	"drink"
/flœ/	"flower"	/vle/	"want"		
/frɛ/	"brother"	/vre/	"true"		

All stops, all fricatives, and the sonorants /m n l/ cluster initially, as first members, with the semi-consonants /j ɥ w/, except that no clusters */bɥ/ */vɥ/ */ʃɥ/ have been found.

/pje/	"foot	/bjɛl/	"connecting rod"
/pɥi/	"well"	-----	--------
/pwa/	"beans"	/bwa/	"wood"
/tjaka/	"native meal"	/djab/	"devil"

/tẄil/	"shingle"
/twa/	"three"
/kjɔ̀s/	"band-stand"
/kẄijɛ/	"spoon"
/kwẽ/	"corner"
/fjɛl/	"bile"
/fẄi/	"stay away"
/fwa/	"time"
/sjɛl/	"sky"
/sẄe/	"perspire"
/swẽjaj/	"care"
/ʃjẽ/	"dog"
------	------
/ʃwal/	"horse"
/mjɛl/	"honey"
/rõmẄe/	"move"
/mwa/	"month"
/njɛ/	"silly"
/nẄaʒ/	"cloud"
/nwa/	"black"
/ljõ/	"lion"
/lẄoe/	"gleam"
/lwa/	"vodoo spirit"
/ãdẄi/	"spicy pork meat"
/dwa/	"right"(n)
/gjɛt/	"a curse word"
/zegẄi/	"needle"
/gwẽ/	"snout"
/vjãn/	"meat"
-----	-----
/vwa/	"voice"
/rezja/	"Resia" (name)
/zẄit/	"oyster"
/zwẽgle/	"pinch"
/rẽʒjõ/	"region"
/ʒẄi'jɛ/	"July"
/ʒwɛt/	"game"

Hall's lack of analysis of a syllabic /m̩/ is responsible for his recognition of the cluster /ms/ reported in /msje/ "Mr., Sir" (Hall 1953:21).

I have not found a cluster /bm/ as in Hall's /bmatẽ/ "morning" (Hall 1953:21); all my informants rejected it in favor of /bõmatẽ/. On the other hand, /m/ does cluster initially with /r/ in the word /mrẽ/ "me" that alternates with /mwẽ/.

In reference to clustering of sonorant /r/ with the semiconsonants the evidence points to the following:

The cluster /rw/ analyzed by Hall in /rwa/ "king", /rwajal/ "royal", /rwajòm/ "kingdom" (Hall 1953:257) not only never appeared in my informants speech, but also was rejected when it was suggested to them. They have instead:

/wa/ /wajal/ /wajòm/

I have also been unable to discover a /rẅ/ cluster. /r/ seems then to cluster only with /j/ in few words like:

/ãrjɛt/	"Harriet"
/arjẽ/	"nothing"

and still those two examples alternate with /ãrijɛt/ and /ãjẽ/.

The voiceless stops /p/ /t/ /k/ occur as the second members of syllable-initial clusters with the voiceless fricatives /s/:

/spò/	"sport"
/stad/	"stadium"
/skãdal/	"scandal"

Only one syllable final cluster has been recorded, /ks/, as in:

/boks/	"boxing"
/taks/	"taxe"

Finally I would like to remind the reader here that contrary to Hall (Hall 1953:21), and d'Ans (d'Ans 1968:51), I have found evidence—

showing that /t/ and /ʃ/, /d/ and /ʒ/ do not cluster. As previously demonstrated under B 2.342, what occurs within a single syllable is really a *"č type phone"* (Hockett 1955:161), alternating with [tˢj̥] or [dᶻj], and when the stops /t/ /d/ occur before the fricatives /ʃ/ /ʒ/, they belong to separate syllables, like in:

/ka-ot-ʃu/	"rubber"
/ad-ʒü-dã/	"warrant officer"

using here - as an ad hoc symbol to separate syllables.

5. SUPRASEGMENTALS

Three suprasegmentals will be considered: pitch, juncture, and stress.

5.1 Pitch and Juncture

In Haitian Creole as spoken in the Port-au-Prince area, the intonation patterns resulting from the pitch of the successive syllables seem to follow a rather leveled contour until they reach the vicinity of a pause, at which point they shift up or down. A contrastive study of that dialect with that of the North may show this to be one of their most important differences. Hall is right when he goes as far as saying that *"the pitch of the individual syllable is normally level"* (Hall 1953:25).

The pitches of the Port-au-Prince dialect can be reduced to as few as three levels, low, normal and high, that I will label /1/ /2/ /3/, stressing the fact moreover, that pitch /3/ is reserved to emphatic speech. Usual Creole sentences are heard to include only the two lower pitches. Typical pitch patterns are:

/^{2}mari ^{1}wɛl^2/	"Mary saw him?"
/^{2}mari pa^2 wɛl^1/	"Mary didn't see him."
/^{2}mari pa ^{1}wɛl^1/	"Mary didn't see him..."
/^{2}mari ^{2}wɛl^1/	"Mary saw him"
/^{2}eskow ^{2}wɛl^1/	"Have you seen him?"

One may take advantage of the simplicity of the Haitian Creole pitch pattern, and instead of analyzing individual degrees within the rhythmic group, consider it sufficient to indicate only the direction at the pauses, since anyway, these are at the end of the pitch contour line. I will use this approach and analyze the pauses that I will call terminal junctures. It is enough to distinguish three terminal junctures: /↑/ rising, /↓/ falling and /→/ sustained. The following examples illustrate their occurrences:

/u wɛl ↑/	"you saw him?"
/u pa wɛl ↑/	"you did not see him?"
/li mãʒe deʒa ↑/	"he already ate?"
/vini mãʒe ↓/	"come and eat!"
/mari wɛl ↓/	"Mary saw him"
/u pa wɛl ↓/	"you didn't see him"
/eskow wɛl ↓/	"have you seen him?"
/kilɛ u wɛl ↓/	"when did you see him?"
/u wɛl →/	"you saw him..."
/li mãʒe deʒa →/	"he already ate..."

After the phonological analysis of the examples, one is able to notice that /↑/ is used in yes or no questions that have no question word; /↓/ is used in plain affirmative or negative statements, in questions introduced with an interrogative word, or in commands; /+/ is used in unfinished statements, when another clause is expected to follow and complete the contour.

Besides terminal junctures, a 4th juncture that I will call open juncture is also needed. It serves mainly as boundary between words, and it also motivates allophonic alternation. I will represent it as a space. The following examples show its phonemic relevancy:

/ratjɛ/	[rat^{s}je]	"rat catcher"
/rat jɛ/	[rat jɛ]	"yesterday's rat"
/lap ri saa/		"he is laughing at that"
/la pri saa/		"it will be that price"
/li vle jõ rõʃ/		"he wants a stone"
/liv lejõ rõʃ/		"Leon Roche's book"

5.2 Stress

Unlike languages like English or Spanish, stress in Haitian is not phonemic at the level of the word. However, since as an observable entity of the phonetics of the language it is not predictable all the time, it must have phonemic relevancy at some level. Currently, two degrees of stress can be heard. I will call them "weak" and "strong". Strong stress falls most of the times on the last syllable of an isolated word, or in the case of longer utterances, on the last syllable of a rhythmic group, that is, just before the juncture. Weak stress falls everywhere else. In the present discussions, I will mark strong stress /'/, while weak stress will remain always unmarked.

Examples:

/pa'pje/	"paper"
/profe'sœ/	"professor"
/ĕvita'sjõ/	"invitation"
/prã jõ pa'pje↓/	"take a paper"
/ɱ se profe'sœ↓/	"I am a professor"
/bãm yõ ĕvita'sjõ↓/	"give me an invitation"

Saying that strong stress falls on the last syllable in most cases is the closest that one can get to a general rule. Consequently, one must be prepared to identify the cases where this does not occur. Hall's analysis, positing a strong stress that falls automatically on the last syllable (Hall 1953:24), is good enough for the preceeding examples, but is contradicted by utterances such as:

/pa'pjesaa/	"this paper"
/profe'sœjo/	"the teachers"
/ĕvita'sjõãjo/	"the invitations"
/bãm ĕvita'sjõã↓/	"give me the invitation"
/bãm ĕvita'sjõãjo↓/	"give me the invitations"
/mĕ ra'djojo↓/	"here are the radios"
/mĕ 'radjo↓ 'jòl↓/	"here are the clothes, Yola"

/mã radjo 'jɔ̀l↓/	"here is Yola's radio"

We have here the proof that stress in Haitian is phonemic and must always be marked in a phonemic transcription.

Finally, in addition to the current phonologically relevant stresses, there is also an "emphatic" stress accompanied by excessive lengthening of the accented syllable. By convention, I will represent the emphatically stressed syllable with three vowels.

Examples:

/li 'grooo↓/	"he is very big"
/ãnũ'nɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃↓/	"come on!"

as opposed to:

/li 'gro↓/	"he is big."
/ãnũ'nɔ̃↓/	"let's go."

But, besides saying that whenever it happens it must fall on a syllable that is already bearing a strong stress, the rules governing the occurrences of emphatic stress cannot be set within the boundaries of structural analysis.

6. FINAL INVENTORY OF THE HAITIAN CREOLE PHONEMES.

30 linear phonemes:	p t k b d g f s ʃ v z ʒ l r m ɲ n
	j ẅ w i e ɛ a ɔ o u ũ ɔ̃ œ
3 suprasegmentals:	3 pitches 1 2 3
	4 junctures → ↑ ↓ and space
	2 stresses, strong and weak
12 features:	voice
	nasal

syllabic

stop

fricative

sonorant

dental

labial

palatal

aperture

round

front/back

—

C. FORM-CLASSES

1. THE NOUN

Members of the Creole class of nouns are the lexical items that can be followed by any and all of the determiners (C 2), and preceded by the descriptive adjective (C 4) /'gro/ "big".

Examples :

/pa'pje/	"paper"
/pa'pjea/	"the paper"
/pa'pjesaa/	"this paper"
/pa'pjem/	"my paper"
/ gro pa'pje/	"big paper"
/'tab/	"table"
/'tabla/	"the table"
/'tabsaa/	"this table"
/'tabmwẽ/	"my table"
/gro 'tab/	"big table"
/avo'ka/	"lawyer"
/avo'kaa/	"the lawyer"
/avo'kasaa/	"this lawyer"
/avo'kam/	"my lawyer"
/gro avo'ka/	"big lawyer"
/'tig/	"tiger"
/'tigla/	"the tiger"
/'tigsaa/	"this tiger"

/'tigmwẽ/	"my tiger"
/gro 'tig/	"big tiger"

In the framework of the present analysis, it is assumed that any form fulfilling the requirements of that test is classifiable as a noun, notwithstanding its possible inclusion in other classes.

1.1 Marked versus unmarked nouns.

The term "marked noun" as it is used here and will be used in this analysis from now on, means "modified by the singular or plural determiner that follows it".

Haitian nouns may occur marked with any of the three determiners (C 2.) or remain unmarked.

Examples of unmarked usage:

/li bwɛ 'dlo↓/	"he drinks water"
/alkòl pa 'bõ↓/	"alcohol is not good"
/nu gẽ zã'mi↓/	"we have friends"
/nu gẽ 'laʒã↓/	"we have money"
/oto kuri 'vit↓/	"cars run fast"

Examples of marked usage:

/prã 'livla↓/	"take the book"
/prã 'livjo↓/	"take the books"
/prã 'livsaa↓/	"take this book"
/prã 'livsajo↓/	"take these books"
/prã 'livli↓/	"take his book"
/prã 'livli↓/	"take his books"

/prã 'livlia↓/	"take his book"
/prã 'livlijo↓/	"take his books"

From the preceding examples, one can conclude that while markedness is used to express several kinds of determinacies, unmarkedness denotes generalization or indefiniteness. It is also true that since Creole nouns show no distinction of number within their internal structure, a noun that is not specifically marked as singular or plural, may be either.

Examples:

/li gẽ zã'mi↓/	"he has friends"
/m̩ wɛ zã'mim↓/	"I see my friend"
/m̩ wɛ zã'mim↓/	"I see my friends"
/pititli pa 'la↓/	"his child is not there"
/pititli pa 'la↓/	"his children are not there"

Explicit indication of number is found only in the form of the determiner (C 2.) or quantifier (C 7.) used.

1.2 Sex distinction in nouns

Only in a limited number of cases is the speaker able to express sex distinction in nominal structures:

a. Names of animals may be preceeded by the words:

/'mal/	"male"
/fö'mɛl/	"female",

according to the sex of the animal.

Among the most common, one hears:

/mal bu'rik/	"donkey"
/fömɛl bu'rik/	"she-ass"
/mal ko'dẽn/	"male turkey"

/fŏmɛl ko'dẽn/	"female turkey"
/mal 'ʃwal/	"horse"
/fömɛl 'ʃwal/	"mare"
/mal 'ʃjẽ/	"dog"
/fömɛl 'ʃjẽ/	"bitch"

Instead of /'mal/ and /fö'mɛl/ the words /pa'pa/ and /mã'mã/ are also used to designate adult animals according to their sex, but the use of /mã'mã/ in this context is wider than that of /pa'pa/, because /mã'mã/ also serves to indicate that the animal has or has had young.

Examples:

/mãmã 'bɶf/	"cow"
/mãmã ka'na/	"duck"
/papa ka'na/	"drake"
/mãmã ko'ʃõ/	"sow"
/papa ko'ʃõ/	"pig"
/mãmã 'pul/	"hen"

b) A limited group of nouns includes two series, one that designates male living beings, and another for the female counterparts.

Examples:

/'frɛ/	"brother"	/'sɶ/	"sister"
/ga'sõ/	"guy"	/'fi/	"girl"
/'kɔ̀k/	"rooster"	/'pul/	"hen"
/mõ'nõk/	"uncle"	/ma'tãt/	"aunt"
/m̩'sje/	"gentleman"	/ma'dãm/	"lady"
/'nõm/	"man"	/'fãm/	"woman"
/nŏ'vŏ/	"nephew"	/'njɛs/	"niece"

/pa'rẽn/	"god-father"	/ma'rẽn/	"god-mother"
/'pɛ/	"priest"	/'mɛ/	"nun"
/to'ro/	"bull"	/'vaʃ/	"cow"

c. Information about sex by morphological structure is available in few words like:

/ak'tœ/	"actor"	/ak'tris/	"actress"
/direk'tœ/	"director"	/direk'tris/	"directress"
/'djab/	"devil"	/ladja'blɛs/	"female devil"
/ku'zẽ/	"cousin" (m)	/ku'zin/	"cousin" (f)
/'mɛt/	"owner"	/me'trɛs/	"owner" (f)
/mü'lat/	"mulatto"	/müla'trɛs/	"mulatto" (f)
/mõ'ʃɛ/	"my dear"	/ma'ʃɛ/	"my dear" (f)
/'nɛg/	"negro"	/nɛ'gɛs/	"negro woman"
/'ʃjẽ/	"dog"	/'ʃjɛn/	"bitch"

Those obviously borrowed suffixed structures are unproductive in Creole.

d. Finally, due to certain socio-cultural factors, some nouns refer to professions or occupations specific to one sex only, with no corresponding word for the other sex. Examples:

/bœf'ʃẽn/	"bus driver helper" (m)
/'bɔ̀n/	"maid"
/bu'zẽ/	"prostitute"
/gasõla'ku/	"yard boy"
/ʒe'rã/	"watchman"
/ʒõ'nɛs/	"prostitute"
/kẄizi'njɛ/	"cook" (f)
/lesi'vjɛ/	"washing woman"

/mena'ʒɛ/	"cleaning woman"
/'ʃãj/	"shoe cleaner" (m)
/'tjul/	"ladies man"
/ũ'gã/	"vodoo priest" (m)
/ũ'sĩ/	"vodoo assistant" (f)

1.3 Grammatical functions of the noun

Important grammatical functions of the noun are determined by its position in the utterance. Consequently, word-order in Haitian is very strict. Although this study does not include the analysis of the sentence, of the clause, or of the phrase, I have selected four important grammatical functions of the nouns that depend on word-order, to be illustrated: word-order determines if the noun is subject or object, or it is part of a nominal possessive or a nominal descriptive construction.

1.31 SUBJECT

The noun is subject if it is placed before a verb. (C 9)

Examples:

/ʃjẽã dò'mi↓/	"the dog sleeps"
/elɛvla 'li↓/	"the student reads"
/ʃatla mã3e 'ratla↓/	"the cat eats the rat"
/lwi wɛ ã'dre↓/	"Lou sees Andrew"

Reversing the order in the preceeding examples would lead to unacceptable or unintended utterances:

*/dòmi 'ʃjẽã↑/	*"sleep the dog"
*/li e'lɛvla↑/	*"read the student"
/ratla mãʒe 'ʃatla↓/	"the rat eats the cat"
/ãdre wɛ 'lwi↓/	"Andrew sees Lou"

Creole stress, as described under B 5.2 cannot be used to clarify an improper word order or to eliminate ambiguity or non-sense.

1.32 OBJECT

The noun is object if it is placed after the verb:

//ʃjẽã mòde 'ʃatla↓/	"the dog bit the cat"
/elɛvla li 'livla↓/	"the student read the book"
/di bõ'ʒu↓/	"say hello"
/di mã'mã↓/	"tell mommy"
/di mãmã bo'ʒu↓/	"say hello to mommy"
/ekri jõ 'lɛt↓/	"write a letter"
/ekri pa'pa↓/	"write to daddy"
/ekri papa jũ 'lɛt↓/	"write a letter to daddy"

The fifth and eighth examples state that although no direct versus indirect object distinction can be established on the basis of the use of a preposition, or on rules governing replacement by substitutes, the fact that the positions of the juxtaposed nouns following the verb are not interchangeable allows the analyst to consider those objects as of different kinds. In constructions similar to the fifth and eighth examples, I will call the noun that immediately follows the verb the indirect object; the other one is the direct object.

1.33 NOMINAL POSSESSIVE AND NOMINAL DESCRIPTIVE

Nominal possessive and nominal descriptive functions are expressed by noun juxtaposition. The described precedes its description, and similarly, the possessed comes before the possessor. Examples:

/kaj bal'kõ/	"two floor house"
/matla ko'tõ/	"cotton mattress"

/liv is'twa/	"story book"
/kaj 'lwi/	"Lou's house"
/zo 'ʃjẽ/	"dog's bone"
/pje 'tab/	"table's leg"

Structurally these are the same constructions, there is a single grammatical relationship indicated by juxtaposing or compounding two nouns; but both description and possession can be expressed simultaneously in an interrupted noun juxtaposition, provided that the possessed appears first, then its description, if there is one; this is followed by the possessor whose optional description comes afterwards. Examples:

/kaj balkõ 'lwi/

"Lou's two floor house"

/liv istwa e'lɛv/

"student's story book"

/liv istwa elɛv le'kòl/

"school children story book"

/kuvɛrtü liv istwa elɛv le'kòl/

"school children story book cover"

/kuvertü liv istwa elɛv lekòl ai'ti/

"Haiti's school children story book cover"

Theoretically, an unlimited number of juxtaposed nouns can be arranged to express various combinations of descriptions, possessions, descripttions within descriptions, possessions within possessions, descriptions within possessions, possessions within descriptions etc., providing that the essential order possessed + description/possessor + description

is at the basis of the structures. In summary, observe the following progression:

1. /matla ko'tõ/ "cotton mattress"

2. /matla 'lwi/ "Lou's mattress"

3. /matla kotõ 'lwi/ "Lou's cotton mattress"

4. /matla kotõ pitit 'lwi/ "Lou's child's cotton mattress"

5. /matla kotõ mãmã pitit 'lwi/ "Lou's child's mother's cotton mattress"

6. /matla kotõ aiti mãmã pitit 'lwi/ "Lou's child's mother's Haiti's cotton mattress"

7. /matla kotõ aiti mãmã pitit nujòk 'lwi/ "Lou's New-York child's mother's Haiti's cotton mattress"

In conclusion one can say that only the need to be easily understood will limit the speaker's usage of long juxtaposition. Even the last example with seven nouns is still unambiguous, although not of common occurrence. Observe that the order in which the Creole nouns occur is exactly the reverse of that of the English nouns in the corresponding translations, abstraction being made of English possessive *s*.

2. THE DETERMINERS

According to Bloomfield,

> *The determiners are defined by the fact that certain types of noun expressions...are always accompanied by a determiner...The class-meaning is, roughly,*

> *'identificational character of specimen'. This habit of using certain noun expressions with a determiner, is peculiar to some languages...* (Bloomfield 1933:203)

Haitian Creole can serve as an illustration of the "habit" mentioned by Bloomfield.

The determiners can be further divided into three subclasses:

The definite determiner (article and context specifier).

The deictic determiner (article and pronoun).

The personal determiner (article and pronoun).

I have regarded as overriding the fact that all the items included in the class of determiners have identical structural behaviors, in their function as articles. Observe the following:

/'vɛa/	"the glass"
/'vɛsaa/	"this glass"
/'vɛm/	"my glass"

One of the most interesting peculiarities of Haitian Creole that will be more extensively explained under C 2.312, is worth mentioning here: it is the existence of structures where all three articles are bound together to mark one item. For example, the utterance

/'vɛmnãsaa/

means all at once:

"the glass, my glass, this glass, the contextually specified glass", or "this definite and contextually specified glass of mine".

Notice that I am including among the determiners all personal and deictic forms, not only when they are used to mark nominal phrases, but also when they serve as nominal substitutes.

I am very much aware of the traditional separation of possessive pronouns, personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns from the corresponding adjectives (or articles). Nevertheless, it is quite unnecessary to establish distinct classes for forms having common meanings, common or closely related morphological structures, and complementary or non-contrastive grammatical functions. The deictic and personal determiners no doubt manifest certain morphological and distributional features that properly characterize their statuses either as pronouns or as articles, but, this can be formally given functional, not necessarily classificatory recognition, when their occurrences are analyzed.

2.1 The definite determiner as article

The definite determiner functions as article when placed after the noun or nominal phrase. It has two basic forms:

/'la/	for singular
/'jo/	for plural

The singular form has four variants:

/'la/, /'a/,
/'ã/, /'nã/ (or its allomorph /'lã̆/),

whose phonetically conditioned occurrences can be described as follows:

/'nã/ is used after nasal consonant phones:

/'fãmnã/	"the woman"
/'sãnnã/	"the ash"
/'rõ̆mnã/	"the rhum"
/'ʃẽnnã/	"the chain"

/la'lĩɲnã/		"the taxi"
/'zõgnã/	['zõŋnã]	"the nail"

/'ã/ is used after nasalized vowels

/ga'sõã/	"the boy"
/mã'mãã/	"the mother"
/ũ'sĩã/	"the hunsi"
/'pẽã/	"the bread"

/'a/ is used after non-nasal vowels

/pa'pjea/	"the paper"
/pa'paa/	"the father"
/'bwaa/	"the wood"
/'fia/	"the girl"
/'dloa/	"the water"

/'la/ is used in all other cases

/'ʃwalla/	"the horse"
/'figla/	"the banana"
/'tabla/	"the table"
/'ʃɛzla/	"the chair"
/'livla/	"the book"

The plural form is always /'jo/. Examples:

/'fãmjo/	"the women"
/'sãnjo/	"the ashes"
/ga'sõjo/	"the boys"
/mã'mãjo/	"the mothers"
/pa'pjejo/	"the papers"
/pa'pajo/	"the fathers"

/'ʃwaljo/	"the horses"
/'tabjo/	"the tables"

2.11 DEFINITENESS AND NUMBER MARKING

The definite article marks the noun or nominal phrase for definiteness, and indicates number. Examples:

/'kajla/	"the house"
/'kajjo/	"the houses"
/'nõmnã/	"the man"
/'nõmjo/	"the men"
/'pẽã/	"the bread"
/'pẽjo/	"the breads"
/la'kua/	"the yard"
/la'kujo/	"the yards"

The post-position of the definite article, in either function, can involve more complicated structures than the single-item examples presented so far. This is due to the fact that not only must it follow the single noun, but also, in the case of its occurrence with nominal descriptive and nominal possessive constructions (C 1.43), or with a nominal phrase of any length, it must always be put at the end of the phrase, in other words, be the last item of the group.

/ma'tlaa/

"the mattress"

/matla ko'tõã/

"the cotton mattress"

/matla kotõ 'lwia/

"Lou's cotton mattress"

/matla kotõ pitit 'lwia/

"Lou's child's cotton mattress"

/matla kotõ mamã pitit 'lwia/

"Lou's child's mother's cotton mattress"

/gro matla ko'tõã/

"the big cotton mattress"

/gro matla kotõ lwi aʃ'tea/

"the big cotton mattress that Lou bought"

/gro matla kotõ lwi aʃ'tejo/

"the big cotton mattresses that Lou bought"

2.12 STRUCTURAL AMBIGUITY

An interesting structural ambiguity results from the obligatory post-position of the definite article to nominal descriptive or nominal possessive phrases, because then, it becomes difficult to distinguish the noun or nouns being marked. Examples:

/sɛl' ʃwalla/	"the saddle of the horse" "the horse's saddle" "the horse saddle"
/sɛl 'ʃwaljo/	"the saddle of the horses" "the horse saddles" "the saddles of the horses" "the horses' saddles "the horses' saddle
/pòt 'kajla/	"the door of the house" "the house's door" "the house door"
/pòt 'kajjo/	"the door of the houses" "the house doors" "the doors of the houses" "the houses' doors" "the houses' door"

The ambiguities are such that in singular, either or both nouns can be construed to be definite, and with plural articles, there is a similar lack of specification.

I have explored with my informants several avenues, with the hope of arriving at least at the formulation of a rule of thumb that could be used to determine the intended meanings. I have reached the conclusion that the preceding translations are all equally possible, and that no structurally identifiable priority can be established.

2.13 CONTEXTUAL SPECIFICATION

Contextual specification is a special function in which the definite determiner is used to indicate that both the speaker and the hearer have had previous information about the specified item. It can take place under two different circumstances.

a) Specification of already marked items.

b) Specification of not normally marked items.

Contextual specification of already marked items consists of the supplementary use of an otherwise not needed second determiner. Examples:

/'ʃɛzlaa/	"the contextually specified chair"
/'tablaa/	"the contextually specified table"
/'fiaa/	"the contextually specified girl"

Pluralization in this type of determiner usage is done by changing to plural only the second determiner. Examples:

/'ʃɛzlajo/	"the contextually specified chairs"
/'tablajo/	"the contextually specified tables"

/'fiajo/	"the contextually specified girls"

Contextual specification of items that are not normally used with determiners is done by the post-position of the singular definite determiner to clauses that are not nominal phrases. I was not able to elicit examples illustrating a similar usage with the plural article. I have to conclude that it only happens with the singular article. Examples:

/ale 'vit↓/	"go fast"
/ale 'vitla↓/	"go fast as it was understood you would"
/m̩ pral tra'vaj↓/	"I am going to work"
/m̩ pral tra'vajla↓/	"I am going to work as it was understood I would"
/wap vini ak'mwẽ↑/	"Are you coming with me?"
/wap vini ak'mwẽã↑/	"Are you coming with me as it was understood you would?"
/li fɛl' jɛ↓/	"He did it yesterday"
/li fɛl 'jɛa↓/	"He did it yesterday as it was understood he would"

2.2 The deictic determiner

The Haitian Creole deictic or demonstrative determiners are the basic forms

/'sa/ and /si'la/ "this, that"

and their variants and plurals to be later analysed.

Contrary to what is observed in many languages, Haitian deictics do not express two or more degrees of relative distance to the speaker of the hearer. Such contrasting can be observed, for example, in English, where is mandatory the use of one of the two deictic levels represented by *this* and *that*, or in Spanish, with the three obligatory forms *este*, *ese*, *aquel*, compared to the optional use of the suffixes *ci* and *là* in French. It is definitely impossible to distinguish between nearer and farther away on the basis of the Creole deictics alone. This leads sometimes to communication problems that can be solved only by periphrastic means, or by the use of gestures. The speaker who is heard saying to his interlocutor:

/m̩ pa vle 'sa↓ m̩ vle 'sa↓/	"I don't want this (that), I want this (that)",

is probably, at the same time, pointing at the objects he is referring to, or would have added to his utterance, adverbial expressions such as:

/bò i'si/	"over here"
/bò la'ba/	"over there"
/ã'wo/	"up"
/ã'ba/	"down"
/nã mi'tã/	"in the middle" etc.

The Creole deictic determiners can be either articles or pronouns depending on their functional distribution.

2.21 THE DEICTIC DETERMINER AS ARTICLE

The Haitian Creole deictics are articles when they are suffixed to a noun or nominal phrase which they mark. They have then the following forms:

/si'la/	/'saa/	for singular
/si'lajo/	/'sajo/	for plural

Examples:

/'rutsila/	"this (that) road"

/'rutsaa/	"this (that) road"
/'rutsilajo/	"these (those) roads"
/'rutsajo/	"these (those) roads"
/abi'tãsaa/	"this (that) peasant"
/abi'tãsila/	"this (that) peasant"
/abi'tãsilajo/	"these (those) peasants"
/abi'tãsajo/	"these (those) peasants"
/ana'nasaa/	"this (that) pineapple"
/ana'nasila/	"this (that) pineapple"
/ana'nasilajo/	"these (those) pineapples"
/ana'nasajo/	"these (those) pineapples"

notice that while /si'la/ is the basic form listed at the beginning of C 2.2, /'saa/ however can be analyzed as:

basic /'sa/ + definite article /'a/.

The respective singular and plural variants /si'la/ and /'saa/, /si'lajo/ and /'sajo/, cannot be distinguished on the basis of meaning or of distributional criteria. However, the informants unanimously agree, and my examination of spontaneous speech shows, that /'saa/ and /'sajo/ occur more frequently than /si'la/ and /si'lajo/.

I have deliberately sought the opinion of several of my informants on that matter, and they all seem to believe that /'saa/ and /'sajo/ are contractions of /si'la/and /si'lajo/. This may be true or false. But, right or wrong, due to Haitian Creole's remarkable predilection for contractions, that belief must carry a lot of weight in their determination of a choice.

The deictic determiners fulfill two important functions, in addition to the purely demonstrative: they imply definiteness, and they indicate number. The preceeding examples illustrate well enough those functions, and their further analysis is not necessary.

2.211 Contextual specification

Contextual specifiers (C 2.13) can be added to the deictics. In such case one obtains the forms:

/si'laa/	"this (that)" (contextually specified)
/si'laajo/	"these (those)" (contextually specified)
/'saajo/	"these (those) (contextually specified)

There is no */'saaa/. Examples:

/'rutsi'laa/	"this (that) road" (contextually specified)
/'rutsi'laajo/	"these (those) roads" (contextually specified)
/'rut'saajo/	"these (those) road" (contextually specified)
/abi'tãsi'laa/	"this (that) peasant" (contextually specified)
/abi'tãsi'laajo/	"these (those) peasants" (contextually specified)
/abi'tã'saajo/	"these (those) peasants" (contextually specified)

2.212 Structural ambiguity

As it could be expected the structurally unsolvable ambiguity described under C 2.12, has a counterpart, when the deictic determiners are used, either in their simpler article forms, or in their contextually specified forms. Observe the same examples of C 2.12 applied to the present context, and their corresponding translations:

/sɛl 'ʃwalsaa/	"the saddle of this horse"
or	"this horse's saddle"
/sɛl 'ʃwalsila/	"this horse saddle"
/sɛl 'ʃwalsajo/	"the saddle of these horses"
or	"these horse saddles"
/sɛl 'ʃwalsilajo/	"these horse's saddles"
	"the saddles of these horses"
	"these horses' saddle"
/p∂t 'kajsaa/	"the door of this house"
or	
/p∂t 'kajsila/	"this house door"
/p∂t 'kajsajo/	"the door of these houses"
or	"these house doors"
/p∂t 'kajsilajo/	"these houses' doors"
	"the doors of these houses"
	"these houses' door"

2.22 THE DEICTIC DETERMINER AS PRONOUN

The deictics function as pronouns when they are not used to mark a noun or nominal phrase. The absence of a noun or nominal phrase being marked is all that is required for the analysis of the deictic as a pronoun.

Of the two basic forms listed at the beginning of C 2.2, /si'la/ means "this (that) one", and is a co-referential deictic pronoun, while /'sa/ is an indefinite pronoun, meaning "this (that)" or "what"

/si'la/ is co-referential because it always identifies an individual or item previously mentioned, contextually understood, described, or presently observable.

Examples:

/li vle si'la/	"he wants this one"
/sila 'mẽm/	"that same one"
/sila pi pi'ti/	"that one is smaller.

Indefinite /'sa/ means "this (that)", when it relates to an abstract fact, or an indefinite item pointed at. Then it stands as the single member of a nominal phrase with absolutely no additional description.

/li di 'sa/	"He says that"
/bãm 'sa/	"give me that"
/sa pa 'bõ/	"that is no good"

Pronominal /'sa/ meaning "this (that)" cannot be used, except pejoratively, as an animate substitute. If /'sa/ stands for an item for which there is additional description it then means /what/, and should be classified as an interrogator (C 8.5). Examples:

/li di sa li'vle↓/	"he says what he wants"
/sa ki kra'ze↓/	"what is broken?"

Since the distinction between pronoun /'sa/, meaning "this" or "that", and interrogator /'sa/, really a contraction of /ki'sa/, meaning "what", may be difficult to make on the basis of their theoretical analysis alone, I have devised the following substitution test that achieves the purpose: /'sa/ meaning "what" can always be replaced by interrogator /ki'sa/ "what", while /'sa/ meaning "this" or "that" cannot, without the message being changed, or the acceptability of the utterance being questioned. Examples:

/li vle 'sa↓/	"he wants this (that)."
/li vle ki'sa↓/	"he wants what"
/sa se 'pòtla↓/	"this is the door"
*/kisa se 'pòtla↓/	unacceptable
/m̩ kõn sa sa 'je↓/	"I know what this is"
/m̩ kõn kisa sa 'je↓/	"I know what this is"
*/m̩ kõn kisa kisa 'je↓/	unacceptable

Notice that indefinite unmarked /'sa/ should not be confused with marked /'saa/ which is equivalent to /si'la/, as explained under C 2.221.

2.221 Definiteness and number marking of deictics

Co-referential /si'la/ can be used unmarked, or marked by the definite determiner. But even unmarked, it already implies definiteness and singularity. Examples:

/m̩ vle si'la↓/	"I want this one"
/sila pi 'bõ↓/	"This one is better"

/si'la/ has a marked plural form /si'lajo/ Examples:

/m̩ vle si'lajo↓/	"I want these"
/silajo pi'bõ↓/	"These are better"

Contextual specification marking is possible, and one obtains the forms /si'laa/ /si'laajo/ that indicate stressed definiteness:

/m̩ vle si'laa↓/	"I want this definite one"
/silaa pi 'bõ↓/	"This definite one is better"
/m̩ vle si'laajo↓/	"I want these definite ones"
/silaajo pi 'bõ↓/	"These definite ones are better"

Indefinite unmarked /'sa/ gives absolutely no information about number. By marking it with the definite determiner, one gets the forms /'saa/ and /'sajo/, and causes it to loose its indefinite identity. /'saa/ and /'sajo/ are equivalent to co-referential /si'la/ /si'lajo/, whose contractions they are believed to be, and which they replace in most common usage. Examples:

/bãm 'saa↓/	"give me this one"
/bãm 'sajo↓/	"give me these"

Stressed definiteness can be expressed only in plural while using marked /'saa/ Example:

/bãm 'saajo↓/	"give me these definite ones"

Similarly to what was observed for the deictic articles (C 2.211), a singular stressed definite */'saaa/ does not occur.

A last remark about marking the deictic pronouns: in many cases involving such marking, either for number indication or for definiteness, the suffixed articles are not directly attached to the pronouns. Examples:

/m̩ vle sa ki de'vãã↓/ or
/m̩ vle sila ki de'vãã↓/
"I want that one in front"

/sila li po'teajo↓/
/sa li po'teajo↓/
"Those he brought"

/sila ki pi'groa↓/
/sa ki pi groa↓/
"The one that is bigger"

/rale sila u ka'pabla↓/
/rale sa u ka'pabla↓/
"Pull the one you can"

/rale sila u ka'pabjo↓/
/rale sa u ka'pabjo↓/
"Pull those you can"

This is due to the fact that the rules governing the post-position of the definite determiner (C 2.11) require that it appear at the end of the whole noun-phrase.

2.3 The personal determiner

I have analyzed the Haitian Creole personal determiner within the framework of the traditional category of person. There are five basic forms:

/'mwẽ/	1st person singular
/'u/	2nd person singular
/'li/	3rd person singular
/'nu/	1st and 2nd persons plural
/'jo/	3rd person plural

The basic forms have functional and distributional variants which will be listed and analyzed later. As previously decided (C 2), I am grouping articles and pronouns into a single class, because of their common meanings, their common morphological structures, and their mutually exclusive distribution.

The specific meanings of the personal determiners will be given when their functional analysis is presented. But it is not too early to point out that there are no other personal forms. Each class-member covers the whole range of all possible meanings related to the corresponding grammatical person. Depending on distribution, any of the following translations is possible:

/'mwẽ/	"I, me, my, mine"
/'u/	"you, your, yours" (sing. in person)
/'li/	"he she, it, him, her his, its"
/'nu/	"we, our, ours, you, your, yours"
/'jo/	"they, them, their, theirs"

notice that /'nu/ represents both the 1st and 2nd persons plural. In practice, only the context will help telling them apart. Although this is not a contrastive or historical study, I would like to call attention to one particular corollary of the Haitian creolization phenomenon: the great many personal forms of the basic language have been reduced to a minimum. The numerous French subject, direct and indirect object pronouns, disjunctive pronouns, possessive pronouns and adjectives, are all represented by one form per person. For example, the single creole item /'li/ corresponds to the French pronouns "il, elle, le, la, lui" and the possessives "son, sa, ses, sien, siens, sienne, siennes". To compensate for that extreme simplification, distribution and word-order have become the decisive factors in the functional status of the determiners. Depending on their position in the structure, determiners may function either as possessive articles or personal pronouns.

2.31 THE PERSONAL DETERMINER AS PERSONAL OR POSSESSIVE ARTICLE

The Haitian Creole personal determiner, functions as a personal or possessive article when it is suffixed to a noun or noun-phrase. It then corresponds to that part of speech traditionally called possessive adjective.

/zã'mimwẽ/	"my friend"
/zã'mili/	"his (her) friend"

There are two sets of variants:

/'mwẽ/	/m/	"my"
/'u/	/w/	"your (sing.)
/'li/	/l/	"his, her"
/'nu/	/n/	"our, your"
/'jo/	--	"their"

The shorter forms in the second column are reductions of the longer ones. There is no reduced form of /jo/. The non-reduced forms of the possessive article can be used on all occasions. Examples:

/'tabmwẽ/	"my table"
/'kajmwẽ/	"my house"
/ka'bãnmwẽ/	"my bed"
/'livmwẽ/	"my book"
/mã'mãmwẽ/	"my mother"
/'pjemwẽ/	"my foot"

/'tabli/	"his table"
/'kajli/	"his house"
/ka'bãnli/	"his bed"
/'livli/	"his book"
/mã'mãli/	"his mother"
/'pjeli/	"his foot" etc.

The reduced forms /m/ /w/ /l/ /n/ used as possessive articles are found after vowels, and are preferred. For example, one will hear mostly:

/mã'mãm/	"my mother"
/mã'mãw/	"your (sing.) mother"
/mã'mãl/	"his, her, its, mother"
/mã'mãn/	"our, your (pl.) mother"
/'pjem/	"my foot"
/'pjew/	"your (sing.) foot"
/'pjel/	"his, her, its, foot"
/'pjen/	"our, your (pl.) foot" etc.

instead of longer is

/ma'mãmwẽ/ /ma'mãu/ etc.

2.311 Number and contextual specification

All the examples so far have been interpreted as singular. However, Haitian Creole determiners functioning as possessive articles actually leave number structurally unspecified. They may be taken as singular or plural. Consequently, examples such as /'pjem/ /'pjew/ /'pjel/ /'pjen/ /'pjejo/ mean "my feet" your feet" etc., as well as "my foot" "your foot" etc.

Specific singular number is indicated when the possessive determiner is followed by a singular definite article. Examples:

/'pjewla/	"your foot"
/'kajlia/	"his house"

But in addition to expressing number, such suffixation of the definite article constitutes also an instance of contextual specification (C 2.12). /'pjewla/ is better translated "your contextually specified foot". More illustrations follow:

/mãgomnã/	"my contextually specified mango"
/'tabua/	"your contextually specified table"
/zo'jella/	"his contextually specified pillow"
/su'ljennã/	"our contextually specified shoe"
/'ʃɛzjoa/	"their contextually specified chair"

There are two ways of forming the corresponding plural: either by adding a plural definite article to the possessive, or by adding both a singular and a plural definite article, except that for third person plural, only the second method is applicable. Examples:

/mã'gomjo/	or	/mã'gomnãjo/
/'tabujo/	or	/'tabuajo/
/zo'jeljo/	or	/zo'jellajo/
/su'ljenjo/	or	/su'ljennãjo/
------		/ʃɛzjoajo/

notice the absence of */ʃɛzjojo/, according to the rule just stated. The lack of forms of that type can tentatively be explained as the result of the speakers' desire to avoid the juxtaposition of two homophonous /jo/, one meaning "their", and the other one meaning "the" plural.

The two sets resulting from the two pluralization methods are completely identical in meaning. However, my observations allow me to report that the forms with the single definite articles, are used more frequently due, maybe, to Haitian Creole's marked preference for more contracted structures. Of course, this does not apply to third person plural.

2.312 Possessive-deictic-definite marking.

The personal determiners functioning as articles can be followed not only by the definite article, but also by the deictic article in any of its forms, that is to say, the deictic by itself, or suffixed with all the possible markers that can affect it. This is tantamount to saying that a noun, or nominal phrase, can be marked, all at the same time, by the possessive, the deictic and the definite determiners. When this occurs, the possessive article will always come first, followed by the deictic and then by the definite. Examples:

/'ʃwalmwẽsaa/	"this horse of mine"
/'ʃwalmwẽsajo/	"these horses of mine"
/'ʃwalmwẽsaajo/	"these horses of mine"
/bu'rikmwẽsila/	"this donkey of mine"
/bu'rikmwẽsilaa/	"this donkey of mine"
/bu'rikmwẽsilajo/	"these donkeys of mine"
/bu'rikmwẽsilaajo/	"these donkeys of mine" etc.

The speaker may also choose to use the definite article twice, after both the possessive and the deictic. Examples:

/'ʃwalmwẽãsaa/	"this horse of mine"
/'ʃwalliyosajo/	"these horses of his"
/'ʃwallijosilajo/	"these horses of his" etc.

2.313 Structural ambiguity.

If the possessive article, either by itself, or followed by definite or deictic articles, or by both, is used to mark a nominal descriptive or nominal possessive group, the same ambiguity described under C 2.12 and C 2.212 finds its counterpart.

It would be too long to present every possible case. All that is needed here, is to establish, in principle, that the whole range of ambiguous meanings can occur, from the ones which are the result of the use of the simpler forms of the possessive article, to those caused by more complicated marked occurrences. In the following examples, I will first present the rather structurally simple case of a nominal phrase marked by a single possessive article. Then, the same nominal phrase will be presented, marked this time by a possessive article, a deictic article and a definite article. For easier comparison with the previously discussed cases, I will use the nominal phrase /pɔ̀t 'kaj/ "house door", that served similar purposes in C 2.12 and C 2.212.

/pɔ̀t 'kajmwẽ/	"my house's door"
	"my house's doors"
	"my houses' door"
	"my houses' doors"
	"my house door"
	"my house doors"

/pòt 'kajmwẽsilaa/	"this contextually specified house door of mine"
	"this contextually specified door of my house"
	"this contextually specified door of my houses"
	"the door of this contextually specified house of mine"
	"the doors of this contextually specified house of mine"
	"this door of my contextually specified house".

2.32 THE PERSONAL DETERMINER AS PERSONAL PRONOUN

The personal pronoun function is basically the use of the same forms previously described, but as free forms, that is to say, not marking a noun or a noun-phrase. Like the possessive or personal articles, they suffer phonetically motivated reductions and their meanings are as listed:

/'mwẽ/	/m/	/'m̩/	"I, me"
/'u/	/w/		"you" (sing.)
/'li/	/l/		he she, him, her, it
/'nu/	/n/		we, us, you
/'jo/	/j/		they, them

Theoretically, the unreduced forms can occur all the time, in all environments. However, the following is what happens in practice;

/m̩/ occurs only before consonants or semiconsonants.

/m/ occurs before and after vowels.

/mwẽ/ occurs after consonants or semi-consonants.

/w/ /l/ /n/ occur before and after vowels.

/u/ /li/ /nu/ occur before or after consonants or semi-consonants.

/j/ occurs only before vowels.

/jo/ occurs after vowels, before and after consonants or semi-consonants.

The most typical environment of the personal pronouns is that of the verb which, in their capacity as grammatical substitutes for nouns, they may precede as subjects or follow as objects (C 1.3). I will then use verbal environments to illustrate the occurrences of the pronominal variants. Examples:

/m̩ ga'de↓/	"I look"
/m̩ 'wɛ↓/	"I see"
/ma'le↓/	"I go"
/ga'dem↓/	"Look at me"
/tãn 'mwẽ↓/	"Wait for me"
/wa'le↑/	"do you go?"
/la'le↓/	"he goes"
/na'le↓/	"We go"
/u ga'de↓/	"you look"
/li ga'de↓/	"he looks"
/nu ga'de↓/	"we look"
/tã'nu↑/	"Should I wait for you?"
/tãn 'li↓/	"Wait for him"
/tãn 'nu↓/	"Wait for us"
/ja'le↓/	"they go"
/gade 'jo↓/	"look at them"

/jo ga'de↓/	"they look"
/tãn 'jo↓/	"Wait for them"

It should be clearly understood however, that the environments allowing the use of the reduced forms of the pronouns are not necessarily restricted to those of the verbs which they precede or follow. Reduction is strictly dependent on phonetic motivation. Observe the following:

	/tãn 'mwẽ↓/	"wait for me"
but,	/tãn mi'si↓/	"wait for me here"
	/li ga'de↓/	"he looks"
but	/lɛl ga'de↓/	"when he looks"
	/nu ga'de↓/	"we look"
but	/lɛn ga'de↓/	"when we look" etc.

2.321 Emphatic personal pronouns

Under this label I am including structures consisting of the personal determiners plus the form /'mẽm/, and used as pronouns. That is:

/mwẽ'mẽm/	"myself"
/u'mẽm/	"yourself"
/li'mẽm/	"himself, herself"
/nu'mẽm/	"ourselves, yourselves"
/jo'mẽm/	"themselves"

The emphatic personal pronouns follow the same distributional rules as their non-emphatic counterparts. The difference between the two types is purely semantic. It is well enough expressed in the English translations, except that the Creole pronouns with /'mẽm/ are strictly emphatic, and not reflexive like the English translation could lead to believe.

2.33 THE REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTION

In Haitian Creole a nominal construction consisting of the nouns /'tɛt/ literally "head" or /'kò/ literally "body" followed by a possessive adjective is used for reflexive. Such construction play the role of the object in reflexive structures:

/'tɛtmwẽ/	
/'kòmwẽ/ /'kòm/	"myself"
/'tɛtu/	"yourself"
/'kòu/ /'kòw/	
/'tɛtli/	"himself, herself"
/'kòli/ /'kòl/	
/'tɛtnu/	"ourselves, yourselves"
/'kònu/ /'kòn/	
/'tɛt jo/	"themselves"
/'kòjo/	

The forms /'tɛt/ and /kò/ are not free variants. Each one has its specific occurrences, with /'tɛt/ being the most widely used, while /'kò/ is more restricted. Examples:

/li tuje 'tɛtli↓/	"he killed himself"
/li blese 'tɛtli↓/	"he hurt himself"
/m̩ rẽmẽ 'tɛtmwẽ↓/	"I love myself"
/pukisa u prã 'tɛtu↓/	"Who do you think you are?" lit. "What do you take yourself for?"

/u swẽ 'tɛtu+/	"you take care of yourself"
/rale 'kòw+/	"get yourself out of the way"
/wete 'kòw+/	"get yourself out of the way"

Again, reflexive usage of /kò/ seems to be rather limited. The last two examples are the only occurrences I was able to elicit from my informants, who have all rejected substitutions like:

*/li tuje 'kòli/	*/li blese 'kòli/

A good example which shows that /'tɛt/ and /'kò/ actually can contrast is the following:

/m̩ fɛl pu 'kòm+/	"I did it by myself"
/m̩ fɛl pu 'tɛtmwẽ+/	"I did it for myself"

In addition to the reflexive constructions with /'tɛt/ and /'kò/, Creole also uses sometimes the regular pronouns /'mwẽ/ /'u/ etc. reflexively. Examples:

/kũmã u sã'tiw/	"How do you feel (yourself)"
/m̩ truvem i'si/	"I find myself here"
/nu meten ã'sãm/	"we put ourselves together"

2.34 THE POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION WITH /'pa/ "share"

There is in Haitian Creole a special possessive construction with pronominal functions, that can be analyzed as the noun /'pa/ "share," marked with the personal determiner. It has the following forms:

/'pamwẽ/	/'pam/	mine
/'pau/	/paw/	yours (sing.)
/'pali/	/'pal/	his, hers
/'panu/	/'pan/	ours, yours
/'pajo/		theirs

They are stressed forms of the possessive article when they are postposed to a noun or nominal phrase. Examples:

/rad 'pam/	"my own clothes"
/rad 'paw/	"your own clothes"
/rad 'pal/	"his, her, own clothes"
/rad 'pan/	"our, your, own clothes"
/rad 'pajo/	"their own clothes"

The difference between the possessive article and this new stressed form is, strictly, the semantic one expressed well enough in the English translations by the presence or the absence of the word "own". As markers, their behaviors are identical. Compare for instance the following sets involving the word /'pje/ "foot" marked with all the possible variants of possessive articles:

/'pjemwẽ/	/'pjem/	/pje 'pamwẽ/	/pje 'pam/
/'pjeu/	/'pjew/	/pje 'pau/	/pje 'paw/
/'pjeli/	/'pjel/	/pje 'pali/	/pje 'pal/
/'pjenu/	/'pjen/	/pje 'panu/	/pje 'pan/
/p'jejo/	----	/pje 'pajo/	----

The personal constructions with /'pa/ will be pronouns when they are used as free forms substituting for nouns, whose grammatical functions they are then supposed to fulfill. As such they represent the only items of Haitian Creole functionally analyzable as possessive pronouns. Examples:

/bãm 'pam+/	"give me mine"
/pam a'wo+/	"mine is upstairs"
/mẽ 'paw+/	"here is yours"

/paw pi'bõ↓/	"yours is better"
/se 'pal↓/	"It is his"
/ pal ri've↓/	"His has arrived" etc.

3. THE INDEFINITE PRONOUN

This class includes a limited amount of words which function as substitutes for indeterminate nouns. As such, they are never marked for definiteness, number,.deixis, possession, or contextual specification. In relation to person, indefinite pronouns can only belong to the third, since by nature, first and second person pronouns are definite. The indefinite pronouns are forms like:

/jo'ʃak/	"each one"
/jo'jõn/	"none" "not any"
/jo'tut/	"all"
/o'kœ̃n/	"none" "not any"
/ki'ʃòj/	"something"
/ã'ǰẽ/	"nothing" "not anything"
/'mũn/	"people"
/'pɛ'sõn/	"nobody"

As seen in the previous listing, among the indefinite pronouns, some are affirmative, others are negative. The latter, if used in a clause, as either subject or object occur concurrently with the negator /'pa/ "not" (C 8.3) preposed to the verb of the clause. Examples:

/joʃak vi'ni↓/	"each came"
/jojõn pa vi'ni↓/	"none came"

/prã jo'ʃak↓/	"take each"
/pa prã jo'jõn↓/	"don't take any"
/m̩ vle jo'tut↓/	"I want them all"
/m̩ pa vle o'ko͠en↓/	"I don't want any"
/bãm ki'ʃɔ̀j↓/	"give me something"
/pa bãm ã'jẽ↓/	"don't give me anything"
/mũn ale↓/	"people go"
/pɛsõn pa a'le↓/	"nobody goes"

The form /'mũn/, besides being an indefinite pronoun, also belongs to the category of nouns, and as such, is markable. It then means "person" "individual". Examples:

/'mũnnã/	"the person"
/li kõnẽ 'mũnsaa↓/	"he knows that person"
/mũnjo ã'wo↓/	"the people are upstairs"
/mẽ 'mũnu↓/	"here are your people"

Idiomatically the pronoun /ki'ʃɔ̀j/ can be used with the indefinite quantifier /'jõ/:

/tãde jõ ki'ʃoj↓/	"listen to something"

4. THE DESCRIPTIVE ADJECTIVE

The members of this class are the free lexical items which can be preceeded by the intensifier /'pi/ /'pli/ "more, or /'mwẽ/ "less, (C 6), and that are used as attributes of nouns. The following are adjectives:

/'riʃ/	"rich"
/pi 'riʃ/	"richer"
/mwẽ 'riʃ/	"less rich"

/ri∫ ã'pil/	"rich a lot"
/nɛg 'ri∫/	"rich people"
/m̩sjŏa 'ri∫/	"the gentleman is rich"
/li 'ri∫/	"he is rich"
/jo 'ri∫/	"they are rich"
/m̩sjŏa ri∫ ã'pil/	"the man is very rich"

Most descriptive adjectives, when used as attribute of nouns or nominal phrases, follow the nouns or nominal phrases. Examples:

/m̩sjö 'ri∫la/	"the rich man"
/kaj 'vɛtla/	"the green house"
/∫jẽ me'∫ãã/	"the mean dog"

However, some adjectives are exceptions to the above rule, and will precede the noun. Among them:

/'bɛl/	"beautiful"
/'ʒœ̃n/	"young"
/'vjö/	"old"
/'bõ/	"good"
/mo've/	"bad"
/'gro/	"big"
/'grã/	"big"
/ ko'kẽn/	"very big"
/kokẽn'∫ẽn/	"very, very big"
/'ti/	"small"
/ti'zẅit/	"very small"
/ze'ge/	"very small"
/'mal/	"male"

/fõ'mɛl/	"female"
/pa'pa/	"male" "big"
/mã'mã/	"female" "big"
/'mẽm/	"same"
/'lɔ̀t/	"other"
/'ʃak/	"each"

Examples:

/bɛl o'to/	"beautiful car"
/ʒœ̃n ga'sõ/	"young men"
/vjŏ tõ'tõ/	"old man"
/bõ dok'tœ/	"good doctor"
/move zã'mi/	"bad friend"
/ti pwa'sõ/	"small fish"
/kokẽn 'kaj/	"very big house"
/kokẽnʃẽn 'kaj/	"very very big house" etc.

4.1 Sex distinction in adjective

The rule is that adjectives remain invariable. However, Creole has in its inventory a limited number of descriptive adjectives with two morphological variants, one of them used for females only, while the other is usable for either male or female. This is a phenomenon similar, although not identical, to the situation previously described for nouns under C 1.2. Like for the noun, we must be aware of the fact that this has to do with sex distinction, and does not constitute enough basis for the recognition of grammatical gender. In the following examples, the forms ending in /z/ can be used for female only, the other forms are for both male and female:

/bjẽnö'rŏ/	"happy"
/bjẽnö'rœz/	
/malö'rŏ/	"poor"
/malö'rœz/	
/eskãda'lœ/	"noisy"
/eskãda'lœz/	
/pare'sö/	"lazy"
/pare'sœz/	
/rü'ze/	"wily"
/ri'zɛz/	
/se'rjö/	"serious"
/se'rjœz/	
/vi'sjŏ/	"greedy"
/vi'sjœz/	
/vɔ̀'lɛ/	"dishonest"
/vɔ̀'lɛz/	
/ʒa'lu/	"jealous"
/ʒa'luz/	

4.2 Comparative and superlative

4.21 COMPARATIVE

The comparative of superiority of Haitian Creole descripttive adjectives is formed by preceding them with the intensifier /'pli/ or /'pi/ (C 6). For the comparative of inferiority the intensifier /'mwẽ/ is used; equality is expressed with intensifier /o'si/.

Examples:

/pi kõ'tã/	"happier"
/mwẽ kõ'tã/	"less happy"
/osi kõ'tã/	"as happy"
/pi ra'di/	"more daring"
/mwẽ ra'di/	"less daring"
/osi ra'di/	"as daring"

In comparisons of superiority, when the item used as term of the comparison is expressed, it must be linked by the conjunctions (C 8.2) /pa'se/ or /kö/. If the conjunction /pa'se/ is used, the intensifier /'pi/ or /'pli/ becomes optional. Examples:

/pi grã kö' ʒã/	
/pi grã pase 'ʒã/	"bigger than John"
/grã pase 'ʒã/	

/pi ʃɛ kö 'sa/	
/pi ʃɛ pase 'sa/	"more expensive than that"
/ʃɛ pase 'sa/	

In comparisons of inferiority, only the conjunction /'kö/ can be used, and, the intensifier /'mwẽ/ is never optional. Examples:

/mwẽ grã kö 'ʒã/	"less big than John"
/mwẽ ʃɛ kö 'sa/	"less expensive than that"

All my informants seemed reluctant to use the comparative of inferiority. Having tested them on their preferences, I have realized that, whenever possible, they will rather use the comparative of superiority of the adjective opposite in meaning. For instance, instead of saying "less big", "less expensive", they will rather say"

/pi pi'ti/	"smaller"
/pi bõma'ʃe/	"cheaper"

In comparisons of equality, the required conjunctions are /'kö/ and /'kũ/ or /tãkũ/. If /kũ/ or /tã'kũ/ are used, the intensifier /o'si/ is obligatorily eliminated. Examples:

/osi grã kö 'ʒã/ /grã kũ 'ʒã/ /grã tãkũ 'ʒã/	"as big as John"
/osi ʃɛ kö 'sa/ /ʃɛ kũ 'sa/ /ʃɛ tãkũ 'sa/	"as expensive as that"

The forms without /o'si/ seem to be preferred by the speakers, specially those with /'kũ/ which is a contraction of /tã'kũ/. Also, when the object of the comparison is not expressed, it is possible to eliminate the preposed intensifier /o'si/ and replace it by the postposed adverb /'tu/ "also". For example, instead of saying:

/osi 'grã/	"as big"
/osi 'ʃɛ/	"as expensive",

one may say:

/grã 'tu/	"big also"
/ʃɛ 'tu/	"expensive also"

There is one irregular comparative in Creole: it is the comparative of superiority /me'jœ/ or /mi'jò/ "better". But it is only an optional variant. The regular form /pi 'bõ/ exists and is of common occurrence.

4.22 SUPERLATIVE

Structures used in Creole to express superlativity are mainly of five types.

a. First, to the comparatives, one may suffix one of the three articles, or any of their combinations. Examples:

/pi' ʃɛa/	"the most expensive"
/pi 'ʃɛsaa/	"this most expensive"
/pi 'ʃɛmwẽã/	"my most expensive"
/pi 'ʃɛmwẽsilaa/	"this most expensive of mine"
/mwẽ 'ʃɛa/	"the least expensive" etc.

b. Absolute superlatives can be formed by having the comparatives followed by the expressions /pase 'tut/ or /pase jo'tut/ /kŏ 'tut/ or /kŏ jo'tut/ "than all". Examples:

/pi piti pase 'tut/	
/pi piti kŏ 'tut/	"smallest"
/piti pase 'tut/	

c. Instead of using structures similar to, or based on the comparative, the speaker may accompany the adjective by the preposed intensifier /'trɛ/ "very", or the postposed adverbs /ã'pil/ /'nɛt/ /'ròd/ /'kõt/, all of them having the meaning of "a lot", "completely" Examples:

/trɛ pi'ti/	"very small"
/grã ãpil/	"very big"
/ʃɛ 'nɛt/	"very expensive"

/kòtã 'ròd/	"very glad"
/buke 'kõt/	"very tired"

d. Duplication and triplication of the adjective are also methods currently used to express superlativity. Examples:

/pi'ti pi'ti/ /pi'ti pi'ti pi'ti/	"very small"
/'grã 'grã/ /'grã 'grã 'grã/	"very big"
/'ʃɛ 'ʃɛ/ /'ʃɛ 'ʃɛ 'ʃɛ/	"very expensive"

In the case of duplication, the speaker may insert the indefinite quantifier /'jõ/ (C 5.2) between the adjectives. Examples:

/piti jõ pi'ti/	"very small"
/grã jõ 'grã/	"very big"
/ʃɛ jõ 'ʃɛ/	"very expensive"

e. Finally, one of Haitian Creole's most used features to form the superlative is the "emphatic stress" (B 5.2) Examples:

/pi'tiii/	"very small"
/'grããã/	"very big"

4.3 Adjectives used as pronouns

Although the intrinsic function of Haitian Creole adjectives is that of noun attributes, they may sometimes play the role of what could conveniently be called co-referential descriptive pronouns, characterized by their being then followed by a determiner or preceded by a quantifier. For example, in answer to the question

/ki ʃapow 'vle↓/	"what hat do you want?"

the speaker may reply:

/m̩ vle 'bɛlla↓/	"I want the beautiful one"
/m̩ vle 'bɛlsaa↓/	"I want this beautiful one"
/m̩ vle 'bɛlua↓/	"I want your beautiful one"
/m̩ vle jõ 'bɛl↓/	"I want a beautiful one"
/m̩ vle twa ʳ bɛl↓/	"I want three beautiful ones"
/m̩ vle 'bɛljo↓/	"I want the beautiful ones"
/m̩ vle ' bɛlsajo↓/	"I want these beautiful ones"
/m̩ vle 'bɛlujo↓/	"I want your beautiful ones"
/m̩ vle tut bɛljo↓/	"I want all the beautiful ones"
/m̩ vle ãpil bɛl↓/	"I want many beautiful ones"
/m̩ vle bɛl bɛl 'bɛljo↓/	"I want the very beautiful ones"

all in reference to the noun /ʃa'po/.

5. THE ADVERB

The Haitian Creole adverb is strictly defined as a form that can modify a verb. However some adverbs do modify adjectives and other adverbs. Its position is generally after the verb, except some forms like /tu'ʒu/ "always", or /'jãm/ "ever". Further internal organization of the class into adverbs of place, quantity, time, and manner, is possible on the basis of the following question tests:

Adverbs of place answer the question:

/ki ko'te↓/	"where?"

Adverbs of quantity answer the question:

/ko'bjẽ↓/	"how much (many)?"

Adverbs of time answer the question:

/ki 'lo̲e̲↓/	"When?"

Adverbs of manner answer the question:

/kũ'mã↓/	"How?"

Following is a list of Haitian Creole adverbs:

Place:

/ã'ba/	"downstairs"
/ã'wo/	"upstairs"
/ãn'dã/	"inside"
/bð i'si/	"overhere"
/bð 'la/	"overthere"
/bð la'ba/	"overthere"
/bð lðt 'bð/	"overthere"
/dʊ 'jð/	"outside"
/dʊ 'vã/	"in front"
/dɛ'jɛ/	"behind"
/i'si/	"here"
/la/	"there"
/la'ba/	"there"
/'lwẽ/	"far"
/'pre/	"near"
/nã mi'tã/	"in the middle"
/su ko'te/	"on the side"
/tupa'tu/	"everywhere"

Quantity:

/ã'pil/	"a lot"
/'kõt/	"enough"
/'mwẽs/	"less"
/o'kœ̃n/	"not at all"
/o'tã/	"as much"
/œ̃ 'pö/	"a little"
/'plüs/	"more"
/'ròd/	"so much"
/si 'tã/	"so much"
/tɛl'mã/	"so much"
/ti 'gut/	"a little"
/ti 'kal/	"a little"
/ti 'kras/	"a little"
/ti 'zĭg/	"a little"
/tròp/	"too much"

Time:

/alɛki'le/	"now"
/a'swɛ/	"at night"
/a'swɛa/	"tonight"
/bo'nœ/	"early"
/de'ʒa/	"already"
/ʒãm/	"ever"
/'jɛ/	"yesterday"
/ʒo'dia/	"today"
/kũn'jea/	"now"

/lõma'tẽ/	"in the morning"
/lŏ'swa/	"in the evening"
/lã'nẅit/	"at night"
/lõ'tã/	"for a long time"
/'ta/	"late"
/ta'lœ/	"soon"
/tu'ʒu/	"always"

Manner:

/'bjẽ/	"well"
/'mal/	"badly"
/'nεt/	"completely"
/'tu/	"also"
/'vit/	"fast"
/dus'mã/	"slowly"
/kare'mã/	"bluntly"
/ra'mã/	"rarely"

and all the forms consisting of adjective + /mã/.

Examples of adverb use:

/li travaj ã'wo↓/	"he works upstairs"
/ale 'lwẽ↓/	"go far"
/u pale 'trɔ̀p↓/	"you speak too much"
/dɔ̀mi 'plüs↓/	"sleep more"
/nu rete lõ'tã↓/	"we stay long"
/ɱ wèl 'jε↓/	"I saw him yesterday"
/li wε 'bjẽ↓/	"he sees well"
/maʃe 'vit↓/	"walk fast"

Like the adjectives (C 4), some adverbs have comparatives and superlatives formed with the use of intensifiers (C 6). Among them, and appearing in the preceding lists, the adverbs of place, the adverbs of time /bo'nœ/ "early" /'ta/ "late" and /lõ'tã/ "for a long time", and most adverbs of manner except /'nɛt/ "completely" and /'tu/"also".

6. THE INTENSIFIER

The intensifiers constitute a class with a rather limited number of forms used exclusively to modify adjectives and some adverbs. The intensifier precedes the adverb or adjective it modifies. This class allowe the exclusion from the adverbs, of certain items that didn't seem to belong. Intensifiers do not modify verbs. The following are intensifiers:

/'pi/	"more"
/'mwẽ/	"less"
/'trɛ/	"very"
/'bjẽ/	"really"
/'si/	"so"
/'trò/	"too"
/o'si/	"as"

Examples:

/pi 'bõ/	"better"

/trɛ dus'mã/	"very slowly"
/bjẽ 'ʃo/	"really hot"

Intensifier /'bjẽ/ "really" should not be confused with the homophonous adverb /'bjẽ/ "well". Notice also the following differences:

Intensifier:	/'pi/	"more"
Adverb:	/'plüs/	"more"
Intensifier:	/'mwẽ/	"less"
Adverb:	/'mwẽs/	"less"
Intensifier:	/'trò/	"too much"
Adverb:	/'tròp/	"too much"

As recognized under C 5, there are also many Creole adverbs that can modify adjectives and adverbs but then they are postposed.

Examples:

/ʃo ã'pil/	"very hot"
/gro 'tu/	"big also"
/ʃɛ 'nɛt/	"really expensive"

The specific position of occurrence of the intensifiers, directly before the adjective or adverb, allows their distinction from adverbs on purely structural grounds, besides the fact already reported that intensifiers do not modify verbs.

7. THE QUANTIFIER

This form-class has a well defined membership that includes forms which, when preposed to the noun or nominal phrase, are attributes indicating quantitative degree or numerical order. They can conveniently be sub-divided into two classes, definite and indefinite.

7.1 The definite quantifier.

The definite quantifiers are such forms that express precise quantity or numerical order. Except for the form for one with nine different variants (/'jõ/ /'õ/ /'jũ/ /'ũ/ /'jõn/ /'jũn/ /'œ̃/ /'œ̃n/ /'ün/) to be analyzed later, Creole has adopted, with few phonological modifications, the cardinal and the ordinal numerical systems of French. The ordinal quantifiers do not need any special discussion. Except for /prö'mje/ "first", they are basically formed of cardinal + /jɛm/. Their fourthcoming listing will be sufficient to provide a clear enough picture. Some cardinals, however, will be the object of closer scrutiny under C 7.3.

Next is the listing of the basic sets. Where needed, remarks following the lists will furnish specific details about items that do not follow expected patterns. The basic definite quantifiers are:

Cardinal		Ordinal	
/'jõ/ /'õ/ /'jũ/ /'ũ/			
/'jõn/ /'jũn/ /'œ̃/ /'œ̃n/ /'ün/	1	/prö'mje/	1st
/'dö/ /'döz/	2	/dö'zjɛm/	2nd
/'twa/ /'twaz/	3	/tra'zjɛm/	3rd
/'kat/ /'katr/ /ka'trö/	4	/katri'jɛm/	4th
/'sẽk/	5	/sẽ'kjɛm/	5th
/'sis/ /'siz/	6	/si'zjɛm/	6th
/'sɛt/	7	/se'tjɛm/	7th
/'ɥit/	8	/ɥi'tjɛm/	8th
/'nœf/ /'növ/	9	/nö'vjɛm/	9th
/'dis/ /'diz/	10	/di'zjɛm/	10th

/'õz/	11	/õ'zjɛm/	11th
/'duz/	12	/du'zjɛm/	12th
/trɛz/	13	/trɛ'zjɛm/	13th
/ka'tðz/	14	/katð'zjɛm/	14th
/'kẽz/	15	/kẽ'zjɛm/	15th
/'sɛz/	16	/sɛ'zjɛm/	16h
/'vẽ/ /'vẽt/ /'vẽz/	20	/vẽ'tjɛm/	20th
/'trãt/	30	/trã'tjɛm/	30th
/ka'rãt/	40	/karã'tjɛm/	40th
/sẽ'kãt/	50	/sẽ'kã'tjɛm/	50th
/swa'sãt/	60	/swasã'tjɛm/	60th
/'sã/ /sãt/ /'sãz/	100	/sã'tjɛm/	100th
/'mil/	1000	/mi'ljɛm/	1,000th
/mi'ljõ/	1,000,000	/miljõ'njɛm/	1,000,000th

Included among the cardinals are also:

/dö'mi/	"half"
/mwa'tje/	"half"
/'ka/	"quarter"
/'tjɛ/	"third"

An additional ordinal is the form:

/dɛ'nje/	"last"

7.2 The indefinite quantifier

The indefinite quantifiers are such forms as:

/ã'pil/	"much, many"
/'de/ /'dez/	"certain, some"
/'jõ/ /'õ/ /'jũ/ /'ũ/	"an, a"

/'kɛk/	"some"
/'kõt/	"enough"
/'mwẽs/	"less"
/o'kœ̃n/	"not any"
/o'tã/	"as much, as many"
/œ̃'pö/	"a little"
/'plüs/	"more"
/plü'zjœ/	"several"
/'ʃak/	"each"
/si'tã/	"so much"
/tròp/	"too much"
/'tut/	"all"
/ti'gut/	"a little bit"
/ti'kal/	"a little bit"
/ti'kras/	"a little bit"
/ti'zĩg/	"a little bit"

Some of them were previously classified as adverbs. Examples of their occurrences will be given where their distribution is analyzed.

7.3 Distribution and functions

Quantifiers occur as attributes of nouns or nominal phrases, or as nominal substitutes themselves, and some of them have particular variants in certain environments. As nominal attributes, they are always preposed. Examples:

/jõ 'mũn/	"a person"
/dö 'mũn/	"two people"

/plüs 'mũn/	"more people"
/prömje 'kaj/	"first house"
/ãpil 'kaj/	"many houses"
/tut 'kaj/	"all houses"
/vẽtjɛm 'fwa/	"twentieth time"
/de 'lœ/	"certain times"

Cardinal "one" having as many as nine different variants, immediate clarification is in order. The sets of forms /'jõ/ /'õ/ /'jõn/ and /'jũ/ /'õ/ /'jũn/ are alternates, and since I have been able to establish that the former are much more typical of the Port-au-Prince dialect, the latter tending to be used mostly by speakers of rural dialects, all discussions involving those six forms will be illustrated from now on with /'jõ/ /'õ/ and /'jõn/. Another variant is the form /œ̃/, a consequence of the adoption by Creole of the French numerical system. It occurs in combinations like "twenty-one", "thirty-one", etc. Examples:

/vẽte'œ̃/	"twenty-one"
/trãte'œ̃/	"thirty-one"
/karãte'œ̃/	"forty-one"

The variants remaining to be explained are /'jõ/ /'õ/ /'jõn/ /œ̃n/ /'ün/. The forms /'jõ/ and /'õ/ are the ones used mostly as nominal attributes, to express both "one" and "a, an" . For all purposes they are equivalent in respective meaning and in distribution. However /'õ/, reduction of /'jõ/, will be always preferred by the native speaker, probably due to the language's natural predilection for contractions. A very much exploited peculiarity of /'ɔ̃/ is its ability, as a vowel, to blend with any preceding word ending in a vowel, replacing the final vowel entirely. Observe the following:

/jõ ʃa'po+/	"a (one) hat"
/õ ʃa'po+/	
/prã jõ ʃa'po+/	"take a (one) hat"
/prã õ ʃa'po+/	
/prõ ʃa'po+/	
/jõ a'sjɛt+/	"a (one) plate"
/õ a'sjɛt+/	
/li vle jõ a'sjɛt+/	"he wants a (one) plate"
/li vle õ a'sjɛt+/	
/li vlõ a'sjɛt+/	

Exceptions to the occurrence of /'jõ/ or /'õ/, as nominal attribute, are those of /'œ̃n/, mandatory in the nominal phrase /'œ̃n 'ã/ "one year" and of /'ün/, at the exclusion of any others, in the nominal phrase:

/ün 'œ̃/	"one o'clock"

Less generalized variations are the following:

/ka'trö/ and not /'kat/ in: /katrö'vẽ/ "eighty"

/vẽt/ instead of /'vẽ/ in: /vẽte'œ̃/ "twenty-one"

/'vẽz/ instead of /'vẽ/ in: /katrövẽz 'ã/: "eighty years"

/'sãz/ replaces /'sã/ in multiples of hundred preceding the nouns /'ã/ "year",/'ɔ̀m/ "man", /'œ/ "hour". Examples:

/dö sãz 'ã/	"two hundred years"
/sẽk sãz 'òm/	"five hundred men"
/twa sãz 'ɑe/	"three hundred hours"

Among the indefinites: /'de/ "certain" is acceptable in all prenominal positions, except that /'dez/ is mandatory in front of the noun /'òm/ "man", and optional before vowels in general. Examples:

/de ba'gaj/	"certain things"
/dez 'òm/	"certain men"
/de is'twa/ /dez is'twa/	"certain stories"
/de a'ne/ /dez a'ne/	"certain years"

Used as nominal substitutes, quantifiers can only be co-referential. Except for the special cardinal variant /'jõn/ which is specifically reserved to that usage, all cardinal and all indefinite quantifiers used as nominal substitutes will occur only in the first of any listed forms. Ordinal quantifiers can also be used as substitutes, but when fulfilling such function, they will be marked by a determiner or a combination of determiners. Examples of the use of quantifiers as nominal substitutes: to the question

/kõbjẽ pãjẽ u 'vle↓/	"how many baskets do you want?"

the speaker may answer:

/m̩ vle 'jõn↓/	"I want one"
/'jõn↓/	"one"
/m̩ vle 'dŏ↓/	"I want two"
/'dŏ↓/	"two"
/m̩ vle ã'pil↓/	"I want many"
/ã'pil↓/	"many"

/m̩ vle prö'jmea↓/	"I want the first one"
/prö'jmea↓/	"the first one"
/prö'jmesaa↓/	"this first one"
/prö'mjemnã↓/	"my first one"
/prö'mjemnãsaa↓/	"this first one of mine"

Finally, all pronominally used quantifiers can bear the mark of contextual specification. Examples:

/m̩ vle 'jõnnã↓/	"I want one" (as understood contextually)
/m̩ vle ã'pilla↓/	"I want many" (as understood contextually)
/m̩ vle prö'mjemnãã↓/.	"I want my first one" (as understood contextually).

8. PARTICLES

In the lexical inventory of Haitian Creole are found certain forms, rather limited and fix in number, unvariable and unmarkable morphologically, that, in spite of being free forms, function more as pure structural devices, than as units of meaning. Among them, are those which, under traditional grammar's criteria, are liable to be classified as prepositions or conjunctions. Such names are as good as any, and when convenient, can be used. But once again, traditional classifications do not provide good structural or functional guidelines, and a re-alignment is necessary. The reduced and practically set stock of such forms, their lack of distinctive morphological characteristics, together with their common property of having their occurrences regulated by structural need, suggest the possibility of a general grouping of all of them, within one big class of "particles". For a clearer organization, the class of particles can be further divided into several sub-classes. Some instances of multiple membership, within the sub-classes, and with other classes, can be legitimately expected. But, with the strict application of structural relationship as the main criterion for classification, confusion and ambiguity can be avoided.

The Haitian forms I am calling particles are those hereafter defined:

prepositions
conjunctions
negators
co-referential relators
interrogators

8.1 Prepositions

Prepositions occur before nouns, pronouns, or noun phrases, in structures like:

/nã 'kajla/	"in the house"
/pu 'fia/	"for the girl"

and which express a relational link between such structures and other noun-phrases or verb-phrases as in:

/m̩ rete nã 'kajla↓/	"I live in the house"
/li prã ʃapoa pu 'fia↓/	"he takes the hat for the girl"

Certain prepositions have corresponding adverbs with related meaning, specifically adverbs of place. But it is clear that adverbs and prepositions cannot be structurally confused, since their positions of occurrence and their functions are very different.

Among the Haitian Creole prepositions are the following:

/'a/	"at, to"
/ã'ba/	"under"
/a'kòz/	"because of"
/ã'lɛ/	"over, above"
/a'pre/	"after"
/a'vã/	"before"
/a'vɛk/ /a'vɛ/ /'ak/ /'a/	"with"
/ãn'dã/	"inside of"
/'ãt/	"between"
/ã'wo/	"over, above"
/'bò/	"near"
/dö/	"of"
/dö'pẅi/	"since"
/dö'jò/	"outside of"
/dɛ'jɛ/	"behind"
/dö'vã/	"in front of"
/eksep'te/	"except"
/'kaj/ /la'kaj/ /'ka/	"at the home of"
/'kõ/ /'kũ/	"like"
/kole 'ak/ /ko'lak/	"next to"
/kot/ /ko'te/	"near"
/'lwẽ/	"far from"
/mal'gre/	"in spite of"
/'nã/ /'ã/ /'ãn/	"in"
/nã mi'tã/	"in the middle of"
/o'ljö/	"instead of"

/o'tu/ /tut o'tu/	"around"
/pã'dã/	"during"
/pa'mi/	"among"
/para'pot/	"because of"
/'pu/	"for"
/'pre/ /tu 'pre/	"close to"
/pu 'tɛt/	"because of"
/'sã/	"without"
/sö'lõ/	"according to"
/'sòf/	"except"
/'su/	"on, over"
/'vɛ/	"toward"
/viza'vi/	"across from"

Examples of prepositional usage:

/vini a zã'miw↓/	"Come with your friends"
/m̩ pral ka 'pjɛ↓/	"I am going to Pierre's"
/pami mjɛl gẽjẽ 'gɛp↓/	"Among bees there are wasps"
/li pote flœ pu 'u↓/	"He brought flowers for you"
/travaj ãpil sòf di'mãʃ↓/	"Work hard except Sundays"
/m̩ rete vizavi le'glizla↓/	"I live across from the church"

8.2 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are particles used to link or coordinate phrases of similar structures, clauses or sentences, or to indicate subordinating relationships between clauses or sentences. The two types can be labeled respectively, coordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

Their position in the structure is right in front of the phrase, clause, or sentence they are supposed to coordinate or subordinate.

Coordinating conjunctions are fewer in number. Among them:

/e'pi/	"then"
/kõ 'sa/	"thus"
/'mẽ/	"but"
/'nõ/ /'dõk/	"thus"
/'ni/ ... /'ni/	"neither ... nor"
/'u/ /u'bjẽ/	"or"

The following are subordinating conjunctions:

/dɛ 'kö/	"as soon as"
/dö'pẅi/	"since"
/e'tã/	"while"
/kõ/ /kũ/ /kòm/ /'ʒã/	"as" (manner)
/'kã/ /'kõ/ /'kũ/	"when", "as" (time)
/'kö/	"that"
/kòm 'si/	"as if"
/mal'gre/	"although"
/mẽm 'si/	"even though"
/pã'dã/	"while"
/pas 'kö/	"because"
/pa'se/	"than"
/pẅis'kö/	"since"
/'si/	"if"
/sizo'ka/	"in case that"

/si'to/	"as soon as"
/'tã/	"as long as"
/si 'nõ/ /u si 'nõ/	"if not"
/'ʒuk/	"until"

Examples of conjunction usage:

/li vini epi li a'le↓/	"he came then he left"
/pra lajãã ubjẽ 'ʃwalla↓/	"take the money or the horse"
/dɛkö ʒã ʒümo kön 'sa→ li fa'ʃe↓/	"as soon as Jean-Jumeau knew that, he got mad"
/m blese etã map tra'vaj↓/	"I got hurt while I was working"
/li kwɛ kö se 'vre↓/	"He thinks that it's true"
/ma vini si u ẽvi'tem↓/	"I will come if you invite me"

Subordinating conjunction /'kö/, except when used in adjectival (C 4.21) or adverbial comparative constructions (C 5.1), is optional. Haitian Creole speakers, more often than not, take advantage of such option. Consequently,

/li kwɛ se 'vre↓/	"he thinks it's true"

is more common than

/li kwɛ kö se 'vre↓/	"he thinks that it's true"

8.3 Negators

This is a subclass with only two members, the forms /'pa/ and /pĩga/, whose role is to form the negative.. /'pa/ is more common than /pĩ'ga/. It is found in front of nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. /pĩga/ implies a more emphatic negativity, and is only used in the formation of negative commands. Examples:

/pa 'kajsaa↓/	"not this house"

/li pa 'bo↓/	"it is no good"
/pa vi'ni↓/	"don't come"
/pa di 'sa↓/	"don't say that"
/pĩga vi'ni↓/	"don't come"
/pĩga jo di 'sa↓/	"let them not say that"
/pĩga li a'le↓/	"let him not go"

/'pa/ is post-posed to the form /'se/ of the copulative verb "to be". (C 10). Examples:

/se 'mwẽ↓/	"it's me"
/se pa 'mwẽ↓/	"it's not me"
/se pa te 'mwẽ↓/	"it was not me"

8.4 Co-referential relators

This group, also limited in members, has just two forms:

/'ki/ or /k/	"who, which, that"
/'kö/ or / k/	"whom, which, that"

which are used as co-referential links between two clauses. /k/ as a phonological variant of /'ki/ is used before or after vowels; as a phonological variant of /'kö/, it is used after vowels. Structurally, the difference between /'ki/ and /'kö/ can be simply stated: /'ki/ will always occur in front of a verb, except in the case of an eliptic copula (C 10.2), when it will appear before an adjective, an adverb, or a nominal phrase not followed by a verb. /'kö/ will occur in front of a nominal phrase always followed by a verb.

Examples:

/ö̃ ʃöval ki kuri 'vit↓/	"a horse that runs fast"

/mãgo ki 'mü↓/ or /mãgok 'mü/	"mangos that are ripe"
/mũn köm kõ'nẽ↓/	"People that I know"
/bagaj kö jõ mũn 'vle↓/	"things that a person wants"

The relator /'ki/ is always mandatory. But just like the conjunction /'kö/ (C 8.2.) and similarly to English, the relator /'kö/ is optional, and Creole speakers again take advantage of that option more often than not. Consequently one can say:

/mũn ɱ kõ'nẽ↓/	"people I know"
/bagaj jõ mũn 'vle↓/	"things a person wants"

The form /'ki/, in addition to being a relator, will also be classified as an interrogator (C 8.5).

8.5 Interrogators

Interrogators are words used to indicate that whatever follows is a direct or indirect question. Their position is in front of the phrase, clause or sentence they modify. The following are interrogators:

/es'kö/	"is it that"
/a'pa/	"isn't it that"
/kũ'mã/	"how?"
/kõ'bjẽ/	"how much?"
/ko'te/	"where?"
/'ki/	"which?"

/'ki/ is used as an adjectival interrogator with noun-phrases as in:

/ki 'liv↓/	"what book?"
/ki pje'bwa↓/	"what tree?"
/ki bõ trava'jœ↓/	"what good worker?"

and in the composition of the common interrogators:

/ki 'mũn/	"who"
/ki 'sa/	"what"
/ki ba'gaj/	"what"
/ki 'bò/	"where"
/ki ko'te/	"where"
/ki 'loe/	"when"
/pu 'ki/	"why"

and of the form:

/ki'lɛs/	"which"

/ki'lɛs/ is used as a variant of adjectival /ki/, and in the formation of the alternates:

/kilɛs 'mũn/	"who"
/kilɛs ba'gaj/	"what"

Interrogator /ki 'sa/ "what" has a contracted variant /'sa/. The following examples contain interrogators:

/ki bò u 'je↓/	"where are you?"
/eskõ li 'vle↓/	"does he want?"
/sa nu aʃ'te↓/	"what did you buy?"

As indicated in the introductory definition, interrogators can also be used in indirect questions. Examples:

/li kõnẽ ki bò u 'je↓/	"he knows where you are"
/mãdel ɛskõ li 'vle↓/	"ask him if he wants"
/nu rẽmẽ sa nu aʃ'te↓/	"you like what you brought"

The difference between direct and indirect questions is syntactic. Without going beyond the scope of the present study, it could be described by saying that in real questions, interrogators are sentence-initial, while in question-like statements, they are subordinate-clause-initial.

9. INTERJECTIONS

The following are interjections:

/ã'mwe↓/	"help!"
/'aj↓/	to express pain
/ala'o↓/	to express surprise
/ã'nu↓/	"come on!"
/ãnu'nõ↓/	"come on!"
/'fut↓/ (vulgar)	"heck!"
/'fwẽk↓/ (vulgar)	"heck!"
/ga'de↓/	"come on!"
/kulã'bi↓/ (vulgar)	"wow!"
/kulã'gɛt↓/ (vulgar)	"wow!"
/'kjɛt↓/ (euphemism for /kulã'get↓/)	"wow!"
/kumã'mãã↓/ (vulgar)	"wow!"
/mã'mã↓/	to express surprise
/mãmã'o↓/	to express surprise
/o'o↓/	to express surprise
/'pst↓/	to call people
/'ʃi↓/	to scare chickens
/'ʃu↓/	to scare hogs
/tõ'nɛ↓/	"by Jove!"
/'waj↓/	to express pain
/wa'jii↓/	to express pain

/wi'fut↓/ (vulgar)	"wow!"
/'wuj↓/	to express pain
/wuju'juj↓/	to express admiration
/mɛ'si↓/	"thank you"
/plɛ'til↓/	an answer when called
/su'ple↓/	"please"
/tã'pri↓/	"please"
/a'lo↓/	"hello"
/bõ'ʒu↓/	"good morning"
/bõ'swa↓/	"good evening"
/bõnapremi'di↓/	"good-afternoon"
/bò'nẅit↓/	"good-night"
/orö'vwa↓/	"good-bye"
/'woj↓/	"hi"

/woj↓/ "hi" seems to be used only by male speakers, as a salutation formula.

/'wi↓/	"yes"
/'nõ↓/	"no"

An additional use of /'wi/ and /'nõ/ is that of affirmation and negation emphasizers, when they are put at the end of sentences. Examples:

/li pale bjẽ 'wi↓/	"he speaks well"
/li pa pale bjẽ nõ↓/	"he doesn't speak well"
/ʒã se frɛm 'wi↓/	"John is my brother"
/ʒã pa frɛm 'nõ↓/	"John is not my brother"

10 THE VERB AND THE COPULA

10.1 The Verb

Haitian Creole verbs are such forms as can occur preceded by markers like /'ap/ /'fɛk/ /'sòt/, etc., which will be more completely listed and described later (C 10.12). For example: one can tell that /'di/ "say" /dò'mi/ "sleep" /'prã/ "take" are verbs in Haitian, because one can say:

/ap 'di/ /ap dò'mi/ /ap 'prã/ /fɛk 'di/ /fɛk dò'mi/ /fɛk 'prã/ etc.

Verbs modified by such markers, will be hereafter called aspect-marked. Verbs occurring alone, with unmodified base-forms, will be called unmarked. The base-form, as well as any aspect-marked verb, can be preceded by other prefixes that indicate tense, to be described later under the name "tense-markers" (C 10.13), and then is to be labelled tense-marked.

10.11 BASE OR UNMARKED FORM

The verb base is a form which does not undergo any morphological changes to indicate person, number, tense mood, voice, or anything else. One minor exception: the structuring of a very few "gerunds" ending in /ã/ and conditioned by the particle /'ã/ /'ãn/ "in, on", as in /ã pa'sã/ "on passing by".

The base-form preceded by the personals

/'mwẽ/	/m/ /m̩/	"I"
/'u/	/w/	"you" sing
/'li/	/l/	"he, she" it
/'nu/	/n/	"we, you" (notice the same pronoun for both persons!)
/'jo/	/j/	"they"

constitutes the unmarked conjugation.

The unmarked conjugation taken out of context is indefinite for tense. Example:

/m̩ dò'mi+/

may be translated as:

"I sleep"

"I generally sleep"

"I slept"

"I have slept".

The unmarked base also corresponds to what is traditionally analyzed as infinitive, and to the second person, singular or plural of the imperative. So,

/dò'mi+/

may mean:

"to sleep" or "sleep!"

10.111 Base-form variants

Some Creole verbs have longer and shorter base-form variants:

/a'le/ /'al/	"to go"
/'baj//'bã//'ba/	"to give"
/fi'ni/ /'fin/	"to finish
/gẽ'jẽ/ /'gẽ/	"to have"
/ka'pab/ /'kạb/ /'ka/	"to be able"
/kõ'nẽ/ /'kõn/	"to know"
/me'te/ /'met/	"to put"
/po'te/ /'pot/	"to bring"
/re'te/ /'ret/	"to stay"
/sò'ti/ /'sòt/	"to go out"
/vi'ni/ /'vin/	"to come"
/we'te/ /'wet/	"to remove"

Except for /'baj/, all the non-contracted variants are acceptable in all environments. The reduced varieties are nevertheless preferred in all cases where they are allowed. Specifically, the reduced forms:

/'al, /'fin/, /'gẽ/, /'kab/, /'ka/, /'kõn/, /'met/, /'pot/, /'met/, /'sòt/, /'vin/, /'wet/

can occur everywhere, except before pause, and before the personals.

Examples:

/li a'le↓/ /la'le↓/	"he went"
/li al nu'jòk↓/ /'lal nu'jòk↓/	"he went to New York"
/u kõ'nẽli↓/ /u kõnẽl↓/	"you know him"
/u kõn 'frɛli↓/ /u kõn 'frɛl↓/	"you know his brother"
/kilœ li sò'ti↓/ /kilœl sò'ti↓/	"when did he go out?"
/li sòt ak 'lwi↓/	"He went out with Lou"

The occurrences of /'baj/ /'bã/ /'ba/ are more difficult to delimit. /'bã/ occurs only before the personal forms /'mwẽ/ and /'nu/, or their variants. Examples:

/bã mwẽ 'sa↓/	"give me that"
/bãm 'sa↓/	
/li bã nu 'kɛk↓/	"he gives us some"
/li bãn 'kɛk↓/	

/ba/ is prescribed before the personal forms /'u/ /'li/ /'jo/ or their variants. Examples:

/ṃ bau 'li↓/	"I give you it"
/ṃ ba 'lil↓/	"I give him it"
/bajo 'pajo↓/	"give them theirs"

Before pause /'baj/ always occurs. Examples:

/kõbjẽ u 'baj↓/	"How much do you give?"
/pa 'prã→ 'baj↓/	"Don't take, give!"

The rest of the occurrences seem to be shared by /'baj/ and /'ba /, according to usage patterns that are definitely not phonologically motivated. Observations show that /'baj/ is acceptable in all the unaccounted for cases, while it is possible to use the variant /'ba/ only in some occasions. For example, one may hear:

/baj zã'nojo↓/	"give the earrings"
/baj ã'pil↓/	"give much"
/baj zamiw zã'nojo↓/	"give the earrings to your friends"
/baj ãpil mũn pò'trea↓/	"give the picture to many people"
/baj 'pjɛ↓/	"give to Peter"
/baj 'pjea↓/	"give the foot"

But /'ba/ is substituable only in:

/ba zamiw zã'nojo↓/	"give the earrings to your friend"
/ba ãpil mũn pò'trea↓/	"give the picture to many people"
/ba 'pjɛ↓/	"give to Peter"

Structures like:

*/ba zã'nojo↓/	"give the earrings"
*/ba a'pil↓/	"give a lot"
*/ba 'pjea↓/	"give the foot"

are unacceptable.

Without reaching too much beyond the scope of this study, I feel able to conclude, from my observations, that such occurrences are syntactically motivated, according to a rule that makes /'ba/ an acceptable variant only in front of indirect objects.

10.12 ASPECT-MARKING

The forms used as aspect-markers either by themselves, or in various combinations, can be grouped into two different types: 1) those which are strictly bound forms, used exclusively as markers, and having no isolatable meaning besides the one they inject into the verb; 2) those which are also free verbal forms in their own right, usable as such, independently from their marking function. Considering the forms in group 2 as aspect-markers makes possible the analysis as aspectual structures of some current combinations that otherwise would have to be called "idioms". However, there is still the danger, in dealing with aspects in non-inflexional languages where verbal nuances are expressed always with some kind of auxiliary, of getting carried away, and of analyzing as aspectual conjugation verbal structures such as:

/li vle tra'vaj↓/	"he wants to work"
/li dwe tra'vaj↓/	"he must work" etc.

which are verb-plus-verb sequences, found in most languages. Their analysis can be as simple as drawing a list of such "auxiliaries". Among the most common in Haitian are:

/'dwe/	"must"
/fi'ni/ /'fin/	"finish"
/ka'pab/ /'ka/	"can"

/kõmã'se/ /'kòmã'se/	"start"	
/me'te/ /'met/	"start suddenly"	
/'mɛt/	"may"	
/pe'te/	"to start"	suddenly
/'prã/	"to start"	
/tõ'be/	"to start"	
/'vle/	"want"	

Examples:

/u mɛt a'le↓/	"you may go"
/li pete kri'jɛ↓/	"he started to cry"
/jo vle tra'vaj↓/	"they want to work"

In the analysis of the Haitian Creole verbal aspect system, I have been guided by the concept that aspects deal with the "temporal distribution or contour" (Hockett 1958:237) of events. The key-word is "temporal". Consequently, I have excluded all "auxiliaries" that don't express some kind of time-relation. However, I have not included /kõmã'se/ "begin" and /fi'ni/ "to finish", whose usage as free verbal forms with all types of nominal objects is extremely popular all through the language. I have also eliminated /me'te/ /'pe'te/ 'prã/ /tõ'be/ "to start", which in the above meaning are used idiomatically only; their proper meanings are respectively "to put", "to fart", "to take", and "to fall".

The aspect-markers of the bound type are:

/'ap/ /a'pe/ /'apr/	Progressive
/'fɛk/	recent perfective
/'pu/	obligative

Of the three progressive variants indicated, /'ap/ is the most common, and I will use it generally in the examples. Progressive marking is used also, often in the affirmative, practically always in the negative, to express future meanings, instead of tense marking with /'va/ (C 10.13).

The aspect-markers of the free type are:

/'kõn/ /'kõ'nẽ/ : occasional

/'pral/ /pra'le/ /a'pral/ /apra'le/ : intentive

/'sòt/ /sò'ti/ : recent perfective

/'kõn/ and /'sòt/ are reductions of /kõ'nẽ/ and /sò'ti/, and are preferred by the speakers. Under C 10.111, we have seen that those two markers are also free-verbs, meaning respectively "to know" and "to go out". Of the forms /'pral/ /pra'le/ /a'pral/ /apra'le/, varied combinations of the progressive marker /'ap/ /a'pe/ /'apr/, plus /a'le/ /'al/ "to go", the most reduced one /'pral/ is preferred. Both as markers and as free forms, they mean "to be going". The dual classification is warranted, however, by the extremely common occurrence of /'pral/ to express immediate future.

Following is a possible arrangement of the aspectual system taking into account single and combined usage of markers. The variants listed first, for "progressive", "intentive", and "occasional" are the speakers' first choices for reasons already stated in the previous paragraphs. Of the two variants each appearing for "recent perfective", "recent perfective/progressive", and "recent perfective/intentive", (all of them involving /'fɛk/ and /'sòt/), the forms with /'fɛk/ are by far the more common.

	Marker	Aspect
I	/'ap/	Progressive
	/map ga'de↓/	"I am looking"
II	/'fɛk/, /'sòt/	Recent perfective
	/m̩ fɛk ga'de↓/	"I just looked" (JUST adverb of time)
III	/fɛk'sòt/	Intensified recent perfective
	/m̩ fɛksòt ga'de↓/	"I *just* looked"
IV	/fɛ'kap/, /sò'tap/	Recent perfective/progressive
	/m̩ fɛkap ga'de↓/	"I was just looking"
V	/fɛksò'tap/	Intensified recent perf/progressive
	/m̩ fɛksòtap ga'de↓/	"I was just looking"
VI	/'pral/	Intentive
	/m̩ pral ga'de↓/	"I am going to look"
VII	/fɛk'pral/, /sòt'pral/	Recent perfective/intentive
	/m̩ fɛkpral ga'de↓/	"I am just going to look"
VIII	/fɛksòt'pral/	Intensified recent perf/int.
	/m̩ fɛksòtpral ga'de↓/	"I am *just* going to look"
IX	/'kõn/ /kõ'nẽ/	Occasional
	/m̩ kõn ga'de↓/	"Sometimes I look"
X	/kõ'nap/	Occasional/progressive
	/m̩ kõnap ga'de↓/	"Sometimes I am looking"
XI	/'pu/	Obligative
	/m̩ pu ga'de↓/	"I have to look" "It's time for me to look"
XII	/pu'ap/	Obligative/progressive
	/m̩ puap ga'de↓/	"I have to be looking"

A special remark is in order about the obligative aspect. Instead of using the regular marker /'pu/ according to the preceding rules, the speaker of Haitian Creole has the option of an alternate method. It involves two impersonal verbal idioms, the forms /se'pu/ and /'fò/, negative /se pa 'pu/, and /fò 'pa/. (/'fò/ is the most reduced and preferred variant of /fò 'kʊ/ and /'fòk/).

In their function as special indicators of the obligative aspect, any of those impersonal verbal idioms is placed in front of the subject of a verb as in:

/se pu pjε a'le↓/ /fò pjε a'le↓/	"Pierre must go"
/se pu u di 'sa↓/ /fò u di 'sa↓/	"you must say that"
/se pa pu pjε a'le↓/ /fò pa pjε a'le↓/	"Pierre must not go"
/se pa pu u di 'sa↓/ /fò pa u di 'sa↓/	"you must not say that"

Finally, I would like to stress that the preceding examples are not meant to be strictly exhaustive. Although less common, other combinations have been heard. For example: /kõn'fεk/, /kõnfεk'sòt/, /kõnfεk'pral/, /kõnfεksòt'pral/.

10.13 TENSE-MARKING

The Haitian Creole tense-markers are placed in front of the unmarked and of the aspect-marked verb form. They are:

/'te/ /t/	for past.	/'a/ /'va/ /a'va/	for future

They combine to give a marker /te'va/ or /ta'va/, contracted /'ta/, that expresses conditional, an interesting illustration, indeed, of the conditional's being a future in the past.

The non-contracted past-marker /'te/ is acceptable in all positions. But the speaker will usually prefer the shorter variant /t/ whenever he is given the option. /t/ is used before vowels and after the negator /'pa/. Examples:

/li te vi'ni↓/	"he came"
/li te a'le↓/ or /li ta'le↓/	"he went"
/li pa te vi'ni↓/ or /li pat vi'ni↓/	"he didn't come"

The long form /a'va/ for the future occurs very seldom. I have observed it more than once, however, in the speech of older people. It seems also to be used at times to give more emphatic assurance that the event will take place. Examples:

/mava 'fɛl↓/	"I will certainly do it"
/pjɛ ava 'vɛw↓/	"Peter will certainly see you"

The future marker /'va/ has phonologically unrestricted occurrences. One may hear:

/pjɛ va mã'ʒe↓/	"Peter will eat'
/pjɛ va a'le↓/	"Peter will go"
/pjɛ va 'wɛ↓/	"Peter will see"
/ʒak va mã'ʒe↓/	"Jack will eat"
/ʒak va a'le↓/	"Jack will go"
/ʒak va 'wɛ↓/	"Jack will see"

But common usage indicates preference for /'a/ where there is a preceding consonant or semiconsonant to which it can be attached, while

/'va/ remains elsewhere. This means that the preceding examples will generally occur as:

/pjɛ va mã'ʒe↓/	"Peter will eat"
/pjɛ va a'le↓/	"Peter will go"
/pjɛ va 'wɛ↓/	"Peter will see"
/ʒak a mã'ʒe↓/	"Jack will eat"
/ʒak a a'le↓/	"Jack will go"
/ʒak a 'wɛ↓/	"Jack will see"

This also accounts for a whole series of contractions involving the reduced personal forms /m/ /w/ /l/ /n/ /j/ with the future-marker:

/mwẽ 'va/	contracts as	/'ma/
/u 'va/	contracts as	/'wa/
/li 'va/	contracts as	/'la/
/nu 'va/	contracts as	/'na/
/jo 'va/	contracts as	/'ja/

Of the three variants of the conditional-marker, I have found so few occurrences of /te'va/ that it is possible to consider them rare although when this form is suggested, the informants accept it in all environments. /ta'va/ and /'ta/ cannot be strictly contrasted. Faced with two forms of equal value, the speaker of Creole again usually prefers the shorter one. /ta'va/ however, is often found in the speech of older people, or when some emphasis is needed. Examples of conditional:

/pjɛ ta a'le↓/	"Pierre would go"
/nu ta ri've↓/	"We would arrive"
/m̩ ta 'fɛl↓/	"I would do it"

10.14 COMMAND FORMS

The approach followed here is to analyze as a command-marker the form /ã'nu/, reduced /'ãn/, used exclusively to indicate first person plural command. The second person, singular or plural, is just the base-form of the verb and no other morphological device is involved in commands. The presence of /ã'nu/ or /'ãn/ excludes all other markers. Following a pattern already noticed, the reduced form /'ãn/ will be always preferred, although both forms are possible in all environments: Examples:

/a'le↓/	"go"
/ãnu a'le↓/ /ãn a'le↓/	"let's go"
/mã'ʒe↓/	"eat"
/ãnu mã'ʒe↓/ /ãn mã'ʒe↓/	"let's eat"

10.15 SAMPLE CONJUGATION

The following is a sample of verbal conjugation. In order to illustrate all usual contractions or reductions involving the tense-markers especially, the conjugation of the base-form is presented with the entire set of subject pronouns. Doing the same with all aspect-markers would, however, brings no new information. The aspect-marked conjugations will then appear only in the first person. All conjugated forms are presented in their most contracted versions, the most usual. For the uncontracted forms, refer to the preceding discussion.

10.151 Unmarked for aspect

a. Unmarked for tense:

/m̩ ga'de↓/	"I	look looked have looked
/u ga'de↓/	"you (sing)	
/li ga'de↓/	"he she, it	
/nu ga'de↓/	"we, you	
/jo ga'de↓/	"they	

b. Tense-marker /'te/: past

/m̩ te ga'de↓/	"I looked"
/u te ga'de↓/	"you looked"
/li te ga'de↓/	"he, she, it looked"
/nu te ga'de↓/	"we, you looked
/jo te ga'de↓/	"they looked"

c. Tense-marker /'va/: future

/ma ga'de↓/	"I will look"
/wa ga'de↓/	"you will look"
/la ga'de↓/	"he, she, it will look"
/na ga'de↓/	"we, you will look"
/ja ga'de↓/	"they will look"

d. Tense-marker /'ta/: conditional

/m̩ ta ga'de↓/	"I would look"
/u ta ga'de↓/	"you would look"
/li ta ga'de↓/	"he, she, it would look"
/nu ta ga'de↓/	"we, you would look"
/jo ta ga'de↓/	"they would look"

10.152 Marked for aspect

I. Progressive

/map ga'de↓/	"I am looking"
/m̩ tap ga'de↓/	"I was looking"
/ma ap ga'de↓/	"I will be looking"
/m̩ ta ap ga'de↓/	"I would be looking"

II. Recent perfective

/m̩ fɛk gade↓/	"I just looked" (Just Adv. of time)
/m̩ te fɛk gade↓/	"I had just looked"
/ma fɛk gade↓/	"I will have just looked"
/m̩ ta fɛk gade↓/	"I would have just looked"

III. Intensified recent perfective

/m̩ fɛksòt ga'de↓/	"I just looked"
/m̩ te fɛksòt ga'de↓/	"I had just looked"
/ma fɛksòt ga'de↓/	"I will have just looked"
/m̩ ta fɛksòt ga'de↓/	"I would have just looked"

IV. Recent perfective/progressive

/m̩ fɛkap ga'de↓/	"I was just looking"
/m̩ te fɛkap ga'de↓/	"I had been just looking"
/ma fɛkap ga'de↓/	"I will be just looking"
/m̩ ta fɛkap ga'de↓/	"I would be just looking"

V. Intensified recent perfect/progressive

/m̩ fɛksòtap ga'de↓/	"I was just looking"
/m̩ te fɛksòtap ga'de↓/	"I had been just looking"
/ma fɛksòtap ga'de↓/	"I will be just looking"
/m̩ ta fɛksòtap ga'de↓/	"I would be just looking"

VI. Intentive

/m̩ pral ga'de↓/	"I am going to look"
/m̩ te pral ga'de↓/	"I was going to look"
/m̩ va pral ga'de↓/	"I will be going to look"
/m̩ ta pral ga'de↓/	"I would be going to look"

VII. Recent perfective/intentive

/m̩ fɛkpral ga'de↓/	"I am just going to look"
/m̩ te fɛkpral ga'de↓/	"I was just ıst going to look"
/ma fɛkpral ga'de↓/	"I will be just going to look"
/m̩ ta fɛkpral ga'de↓/	"I would be just going to look"

VIII. Intensified recent perfect/intentive

/m̩ fɛksòtpral ga'de↓/	"I am just going to look"
/m̩ te fɛksòtpral ga'de↓/	"I was just going to look"
/ma fɛksòtpral ga'de↓/	"I will be just going to look"
/m̩ ta fɛksòtpral ga'de↓/	"I would be just going to look"

IX. Occasional

/m̩ kõn ga'de↓/	"Sometimes I look"
/m̩ te kõn ga'de↓/	"Sometimes I looked"
/ma kõn ga'de↓/	"Sometimes I will look"
/m̩ ta kõn ga'de↓/	"Sometimes I would look"

X. Occasional/progressive

/m̩ kõnap ga'de↓/	"Sometimes I am looking"
/m̩ te kõnap ga'de↓/	"Sometimes I was looking"
/ma kõnap ga'de↓/	"Sometimes I will be looking"
/m̩ ta kõnap ga'de↓/	"Sometimes I would be looking"

XI Obligative

/m̩ pu ga'de↓/	"I have to look"
/m̩ te pu ga'de↓/	"I had to look"
/ma pu ga'de↓/	"I will have to look"
/m̩ ta pu ga'de↓/	"I would have to look"

XII Obligative/progressive

/m̩ puap ga'de↓/	"I have to be looking"
/m̩ te puap ga'de↓/	"I had to be looking"
/ma puap ga'de↓/	"I will have to be looking"
/m̩ ta puap ga'de↓/	"I would have to be looking"

10.153 COMMAND

/ãn ga'de↓/	"Let's look"
/ga'de↓/	"Look"

10.16 IMPERSONAL VERBAL IDIOMS

A very small number of Haitian Creole verbs beside having regular meanings when conjugated personally, are also used impersonally, without a subject. with special idiomatic meanings. I have observed the following:

/'fɛ/	"to make"
	"It is" (in weather expressions)
/gẽ'jẽ/ /'gẽ/	"to have"
	"there is, are"
/pi'to/	"to prefer"
	"it is better"
/sã'ble/	"to look like"
	"it seems"

/tru've/	"to find"
	"it happens"

Impersonal /pi'to/, /sa'ble/, and /tru've/ are restricted to the introduction of subordinate clauses, and, in such role, must always remain unmarked. (If there is tense or aspect to be marked, this is done in the verb of the subordinate clause). /'fɛ/ and /'gẽ/ or /gẽ'jẽ/ can be marked when they are used impersonally.

In addition, the following idioms with verbal meanings are found:

/ãdi're/ /õdi're/	"it seems"
/gẽ'lɛ/	"it seems"
/wadi/	"it seems"
/nã'pwẽ/	"there is (are) not"

10.2 The Copula

First consider simple utterances:

/li se dok'tœ↓/	"he is a doctor"
/li te dok'tœ↓/	"he was a doctor"
/li va dok'tœ↓/	"he will be a doctor"
/li ta dok'tœ↓/	"he would be a doctor"
/li ma'lad↓/	"he is sick"
/li te ma'lad↓/	"he was sick"
/li va ma'lad↓/	"he will be sick"
/li ta ma'lad↓/	"he would be sick"
/li i'si↓/	"he is here"
/li te i'si↓/	"he was here"
/li va i'si↓/	"he will be here"
/li ta i'si↓/	"he would be here"
/li pa dok'tœ↓/	"he is not a doctor"

/li pa te dok'tœ↓/	"he was not a doctor"
/li pa va dok'tœ↓/	"he will not be a doctor"
/li pa ta dok'tœ↓/	"he would not be a doctor"
/li pa ma'lad↓/	"he is not sick"
/li pa te ma'lad↓/	"he was not sick"
/li pa va ma'lad↓/	"he will not be sick"
/li pa ta ma'lad↓/	"he would not be sick"
/li pa i'si↓/	"he is not here"
/li pa te i'si↓/	"he was not here"
/li pa va i'si↓/	"he will not be here"
/li pa ta i'si↓/	"he would not be here",

Confronted with only those examples, an analyst would be justified, if he were to posit /'se/ as present, /'te/ as past, /'va/ as future, and /'ta/ as conditional of the Creole copula, jotting down, at the same time, special remarks about the absence of /'se/ before /ma'lad/ and /i'si/, and in the negative. The special remarks would be dealing with one aspect of what is knownas the defectivity of the copula, a phenomenon not restricted to Haitian Creole, but observed indeed, in several other languages: Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, Hungarian, Russian, etc. The peculiarities of the Creole copula do not stop there, however. Further examination of the corpus would call the analyst's attention to other items, such as:

/doktœ li 'je↓/	"he is a doctor"
/doktœ li te 'je↓/	"he was a doctor"
/doktœ li va 'je↓/	"he will be a doctor"
/doktœ li ta 'je↓/	"he would be a doctor"
/kote li 'je↓/	"where is he?"
/kote li te 'je↓/	"where was he?"

/kote li va 'je↓/	"where will he be ?"
/kote li ta 'je↓/	"where would he be ?"
/isi li 'je↓/	"he is here"
/isi li te 'je↓/	"he was here"
/isi li va 'je↓/	"he will be here"
/isi li ta 'je↓/	"he would be here",

after which, he would have to posit /'je/, /te 'je/, /va 'je/, and /ta 'je/ as also meaning "is", "was", "will be", and "would be" respectively.

His search would still not be complete, since he has not yet encountered the following examples:

/se 'vre↓/	"it is true"
/se i'si↓/	"it is here"
/se te 'vre↓/	"it was true"
/se te i'si↓/	"it was here"
/se va 'vre↓/	"it will be true"
/se va i'si↓/	"it will be here"
/se ta 'vre↓/	"it would be true"
/se ta i'si↓/	"it would be here"
/se pa 'vre↓/	"it is not true"
/se pa te 'vre↓/	"it was not true"
/se pa va 'vre↓/	"it will not be true"
/se pa ta 'vre↓/	"it would not be true"
/se pa i'si↓/	"it is not here"
/se pa te i'si↓/	"it was not here"

which show, among other things, that /se/, /se 'te/, /se 'va/ and

/se 'ta/, with their respective meanings "it is", "it was", "it will be", "it would be", must also be given the proper consideration.

Additional inspection of the available corpus would not either fail to bring to the analyst's attention, items like:

/mẽ 'rɔ̀bla↓/	"here is the dress"
/mẽ 'li↓/	"here he is"
/mẽ 'kɛk↓/	"here are some"
/mẽ 'paw↓/	"here is yours"

Based on the previous study of the Creole verb (C 10.1), on data similar and complementary to the preceding samples, and on other particularities such as tense and aspect-marking which will be discussed later, I have found the best approach to the analysis of the copula to be quite clearly indicated: since /'te/ /'va/ and /'ta/ have already been granted class-form status as tense-markers (C 10.13), there is no necessity to reanalyze them as copulative verbal forms. This leaves us with /'se/ /'je/ and /'mẽ/. The data shows that /'se/ and /'je/ behave like verbal base-forms and can conveniently be considered as such. The study of the Haitian Creole copula is then limited to describing the specific behavior of those two non-equivalent and mutually-exclusive base-forms, each of which having its own rules of occurrence, and its own conjugational system, and to accounting formally for the status of /'mẽ/.

10.21. THE FORM /'mẽ/

Having found in a corpus items such as:

/mẽ 'mwẽ↓/	"here I am"
/mẽ 'saa↓/	"here is this one"

/mẽ 'pan↓/	"here is ours"
/mẽ mã'gojo↓/	"here are the mangos"
/mẽ 'tabla↓/	"here is the table"
/mẽ sa li'vle↓/	"here is what he wants"
/mẽ 'tut↓/	"here is all"
/mẽ 'groa↓/	"here is the big one"
/mẽ 'lwi↓/	"here is Lou"

one is faced with a variety of approaches available for the analysis of the form /'mẽ/. One of the possible avenues would be to consider /'mẽ/ as a base-form of the copula, but a base which at the same time would have built-in deictic features. This may be acceptable, but it would complicate even more an already irregular enough copula, by adding a third conjugational system to those of /'se/ and /'je/. Another possibility would be to call /'mẽ/ an adverb of place meaning "here" or "there", which occurs with a defective copula. This would not complicate the analysis of the copula, but based on my definition of adverb (C 5.1), /'mẽ/ does not qualify as a member of that form - class.

I have decided to call /'mẽ/ a "deixis-marker" of the copula. Such a solution goes well with my previous recognition of other types of verb-markers, and with the copula's trend to be sometimes defective when markers are used, as we will see below. At the same time, it grants a completely independent status to /'mẽ/. Since the copula is always defective when the deixis-marker is used, it does not matter what base we choose as the deleted one. Thus, instead of arbitrarily designating any of the two copula-bases, and make /'mẽ/ part of its system, I thought it would be better to deal with the occurrences of deixis marker /'mẽ/, after both /'se/ and /'je/ are described. This will be done under C 10.25.

10.22 BASE /'se/

Items such as:

/m̩ se zâ'miw↓/	"I am your friend"
/li se dok'tœ↓/	"He is a doctor"
/ʃat se bɛt↓/	"Cats are animals"
/se 'mwẽ↓/	"It's me"
/se 'u↓/	"It's you"
/se 'vre↓/	"It's true"
/se i'si↓/	"It's here"
/se la'plia↓/	"It's the rain"

are indications that /'se/ has a double system of conjugation: impersonal, and personal.

10.221 Impersonal conjugation

The impersonal conjugation of /'se/ is characterized by the absence of any form identifiable as subject of the copula. Impersonal /'se/, as well as its negative counterpart /se 'pa/, can never be defective. They can be used unmarked as in:

/se 'mwẽ↓/	"it's me"
/se pa 'mwẽ↓/	"it's not me"
/se 'vre↓/	"it's true"
/se pa 'vre↓/	"it's not true"
/se i'si↓/	"it's here"
/se pa i'si↓/	"it's not here"

/se la'plia↓/	"it's the rain"
/se pa la'plia↓/	"it's not the rain"

or, like any other base-form, can be modified by tense-markers (C 10.13), with the difference however, that these follow instead of preceding. Since the behavior of /se 'pa/ does not vary from that of /'se/, all future examples of tense-marked impersonal /'se/ will be in the affirmative:

/se te 'mwẽ↓/	"it was me"
/se va 'mwẽ↓/	"it will be me"
/se ta 'mwẽ↓/	"it would be me"
/se te 'vre↓/	"it was true"
/se va 'vre↓/	"it will be true"
/se ta 'vre↓/	"it would be true" etc.

Aspect-markers also (C 10.12) are postposed. But among them, I have been able to document occurrences only, of recent perfective /'fɛk/, intensified recent perfective /fɛk'sðt/, intentive /'pral/ and perfective-intentive, /fɛk'pral/. Examples:

/se fɛk 'tuu↓/	"it is just your turn"
/se fɛksðt 'tuu↓/	"it is just past your turn"
/se pral 'lœ↓/	"it is going to be time"
/se fɛkpral 'lœ↓/	"it is just going to be time"
/se pral diffi'sil↓/	"it is going to be difficult"
/se pral i'si↓/	"it is going to be here"

The other aspect-markers have not been found with /'se/. My informants, besides not volunteering them, have rejected suggested combinaations like:

*/se 'ap↓/	for progressive
*/se fɛk'ap↓/	for perfective/progressive
*/se 'kõn↓/	for habitual

Any combinations of /'se/ plus aspect-marker should not be taken automatically as aspect-marking of /'se/. For example, in /se fɛk vini m̩ fɛk vi'ni↓/ "I have just arrived", meaning literally "it is just arrive I just arrived", /se fɛk vi'ni↓/ has a structure /'se/ + aspect-marker /'fɛk/ + verb /vi'ni/, but the aspect-marker is modifying /vi'ni/, the verb following it, not /'se/. As a rule, any aspect-marker placed after /'se/ and before a verb, is always to be taken as marking the verb.

The impersonal conjugation of /'se/ includes also its modification, simultaneously, by both tense and aspect-markers. When this happens, tense-markers will precede aspect-markers. Examples:

/se te pral difi'sil↓/	"It was going to be difficult"
/se ta fɛk 'tuu↓/	"It would be just your turn"
/se te fɛkpral 'lœ↓/	"It was just going to be the time"

Observation of the language shows that in general, aspect-marking of impersonally used base /'se/ is rather rare in practice, and whenever it happens, it is often with nominal predicates. I was not able to elicit, nor suggest, any samples of aspect-marked /se 'fɛk/ "It is just", /se fɛk'sɔ̃t/ "it is just", and /se fɛk'pral/ "it is just going to be", followed by adjectives or adverbs. Even for the reported examples:

/se pral difi'sil↓/	"it is going to be difficult"

/se pral i'si↓/	"it is going to be here",

the informants have volunteered remarks attesting their preferences for alternates utterances like:

/se va difi'sil↓/	"it will be difficult"
/sa pral difi'sil↓/	"that is going to be difficult"
/se va i'si↓/	"it will be here"

One verbal idiom, however, analyzable as an instance of aspect-marking of impersonal /'se/, is very widely used in the language: it is the expression /se 'pu/, formed of base /'se/ marked by obligative /'pu/. More details on its use can be found at the end of C 10.12.

10.222 Personal conjugation

The personal conjugation of base /'se/ is characterized by the presence of a subject. The form /'se/ itself may be either defective or expressed, according to the following rules:

a. /'se/ is automatically deleted when any tense or aspect-marker is used. Examples:

/li te zã'mim↓/	"he was my friend"
/lwi va avo'ka↓/	"Lou will be a lawyer"
/nu ta i'si↓/	"We would be here"
/kajla pral 'blö↓/	"The house is going to be blue"
/ʃatla fɛk ãba ka'bãnnã↓/	"The cat was just under the bed"

This rule is general, and in all the rest of this chapter, we will deal exclusively with the behavior of unmarked base /'se/.

b. /'se/ is defective if the predicate is adjectival or adverbial.

Examples:

/pjɛ ma'lad↓/	"Pierre is sick"

/kajla 'blö↓/	"The house is blue"
/nu i'si /	"We are here"
/ʃatlã ãba ka'bãnnã↓/	"The cat is under the bed"

The next rules will then deal only with nominal predicates.

c. /'se/ is never found after relator/'ki/. Examples:

/mùn ki zã'miw↓/	"people who are your friends"
/papal ki ʃo'fœ↓/	"his father who is a driver"

d. /'se/ is used in affirmative or affirmative-interrogative utterances with nominal predicates such as:

/pjɛ se zã'mim↓/	"Pierre is my friend"
/ɛskö pjɛ se zã'mim↓/	"Is Pierre my friend?"
/puki pjɛ se zã'mim↓/	"Why is Pierre my friend?"
/li se zã'mim↓/	"He is my friend"
/ɛskö li se zã'mim↓/	"Is he my friend?"
/puki li se zã'mim↓/	"Why is he my friend?"
/saa se 'paw↓/	"This one is yours"
/ɛskö saa se 'paw↓/	"Is this one yours?"
/pamjo se 'sajo↓/	"Mine are these" etc.

However, there is a tendency to delete /'se/ in front of names of professions, trades, nationalities, and the like. One hears:

/rodrig se ma'sõ/	"Rodrigue is a mason"
/rodrig ma'sõ↓/	
/nu se profe'sœ↓/	"You are professors"
/nu profe'sœ↓/	

/ãdre se ai'sjẽ↓/	"Andrew is a Haitian"
/ãdre ai'sjẽ↓/	

This might be explanable on the basis that the speaker is then, assimilating such nouns to adjectives. The elision of /'se/ is no more possible, if a structural feature confirms the nominal identity of items like:

/ma'sõ/ /profe'sœ/ /ai'sjẽ/. For example, one cannot say:

*/rodrig õ ma'sõ↓/	"Rodrigue is a mason"
*/nu profe'sœjo↓/	"You are the teachers"
*/ãdre ai'sjẽsaa↓/	"Andrew is that Haitian"

but instead must say:

/rodrig se õ ma'sõ↓/	"Rodrigue is a mason"
/nu se profe'sœjo↓/	"You are the teachers"
/ãdre se ai'sjẽsaa↓/	"Andrew is that Haitian"

e. In the negative, utterances with nominal predicates show the following patterns: Those with a personal pronoun as subject have a defective /'se/. Examples:

/li pa zãmim↓/	"he is not my friend"
/mwẽ pa dok'tœa↓/	"I am not the doctor"
/u pa m̩sjö 'lwi↓/	"You are not Mr. Lewis"

The other ones have two variants each. Examples:

/pjɛ se pa zã'mim↓/	"Pierre is not my friend"
/pjɛ pa zã'mim↓/	
/ɛskö pjɛ se pa zã'mim↓/	"Isn't Pierre my friend?"
/ɛskö pjɛ pa zã'mim↓/	

/puki pjɛ se pa zã'mim↓/	"Why isn't Pierre my friend?"
/puki pjɛ pa zã'mim↓/	
/sa se pa 'paw↓/	"This is not yours"
/sa pa 'paw↓/	
/pamjo se pa 'sajo /	"mine are not these"
/pamjo pa 'sajo↓/	

The occurrences pointing toward an apparent optionality of /'se/ can be explained another way however: it is possible to analyze the form /se 'pa/ found in them, as an instance of the impersonal conjugation of the copula (C 10.221), and to consider then the utterances as emphatic and composed of two separate clauses, especially since their intonation contour can very well be represented as:

/pjɛ→ se pa zã'mim↓/	"Peter, 'it's' not my friend"
/la'bib→ se pa o 'liv↓/	"The Bible, it's not a book"
/'sa→ se pa 'paw↓/	"This, it's not yours"

Adopting such a solution simplifies the analysis of the copula, because it opens the door to stating the complete defectivity of base /'se/ in negative personal utterances.

10.23 BASE /'je/

/'je/ does not present the personal versus impersonal contrast characteristic of /'se/, since it always occurs with an expressed subject. Examples:

/ai'sjẽ li 'je↓/	"he is Haitian"
/sa sa 'je↓/	"what is this?"
/avɛm u 'je↓/	"you are with me"
/kote jo 'je↓/	"where are they?"

Insofar as marking, /'je/ behaves like any ordinary verb (C 10.1), being used unmarked, as in the four preceding sentences, or modified with preposed tense and aspect-markers. Examples:

/aisjẽ li te 'je↓/	"he was Haitian"
/isi nu pral 'je↓/	"we are going to be here"
/kote u te kõn 'je↓/	"where did you use to be"

Aspect or tense-marked /'je/ is never defective or optional, neither is negatively used /'je/.

Central in the determination and description of the occurrences of /'je/ is the fact that it is always utterance-final. Sentences like

/aisjẽ li 'je↓/	"he is Haitian"
/avɛm u 'je↓/	"your are with me"
/aisjẽ li te 'je↓/	"he was a Haitian"
/isi nu pral 'je↓/	"we are going to be here",

which can also be said

/li se ai'sjẽ↓/	"he is a Haitian"
/u a'vɛm↓/	"you are with me"
/li te ai'sjẽ↓/	"he was a Haitian"
/nu pral i'si↓/	"we are going to be here" ,

with the same meaning, have the form /'je/, only when the word-order is such that the copula is placed at the end of the clause. If the copula is not clause-final, we are simply dealing with structures already explained under C 10.222

The rules governing the occurrences of /'je/ are then also rules telling us what kinds of structures have the copula at the end. First, cases where /'je/ is always mandatory:

a. /'je/ occurs in statements, or in questions without question words, where inversion has caused the predicate to be shifted ahead of the subject. Examples:

/u se za'mim↓/	"you are my friend"
/zamim u 'je↓/	
/rodrig se dok'tœ↑/	"Is Rodrigue a doctor?"
/doktœ rodrig 'je↑/	
/ʃatla ãba ka'bãnnã↓/	"The cat is under the bed"
/ãba kabãnnã ʃatla 'je↓/	
/kajla 'blŏ↓/	"The house is blue"
/blŏ kajla 'je↓/	
/ãdre nã 'kajla↑/	"Is Andrew in the house?"
/nã kajla ãdre 'je↑/	

The inverted sentences are rather emphatic, and even more emphasis can be added by putting /'se/ at the beginning of the inverted predicates. They then become:

/se zãmim u 'je↓/	"you are my friend"
/se doktœ rodrig 'je↑/	"Is Rodrigeu a doctor?"
/se ãba kabãnnã ʃat la 'je↓/	"The cat is under the bed"
/se blŏ kajla 'je↓/	"The house is blue"
/se nã kajla ãdre 'je↑/	"Is Andre in the house?"

b. /'je/ is used in subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunctions /'kũ/ /'ʒã/ "as". Examples;

/m̩ vlel kũ li 'je↓/	"I want it as it is"
/mãmã rẽmẽ pititli ʒã jo 'je↓/	"A mother loves her children as they are"

Interestingly enough, the adverb of time /kũl'jea/ "now" (C 5.1) can be analized as: /'kũ/ "as" + /l/ "it" + /'je/ "is" + /'a/ "context specifier", meaning literally: "as it is".

c. /'je/ is also found in the second term of a comparison as a sort of redundantly emphatic copula, or when a change of tense or aspect needs to be indicated. Examples:

/m̩ te kwɛ kajla te pi gra kö li 'je↓/
"I thought the house was bigger than it is"

/pa dim saa pi difisil kö li 'je↓/
"Don't tell me this is more difficult than it is"

/vjãnsaa osi bõ kö pawla te 'je↓/
"this meat is as good as yours was"

/isia bõ pase labaa te kõn 'je↓/
"here is better than overthere used to be"

The remaining rules involve /'je/ with interrogators (C 8.5). In structures containing interrogators, the copula at the end requirement can be met exclusively in predicate-less clauses, or, to put it another way, in clauses where the interrogative phrase, mandatorily located in front of the subject, is the sole element susceptible to be considered as the predicate. Only such clauses then need to be taken into account. Excluded from consideration will be utterances with interrogator /ɛs'kö/, since it cannot be part of such structures.

Contrary to the precedingly stated rules, we will be dealing here, not only with occurrences of /'je/, but also with its defectivity and its optionality.

a. /'je/ is defective when interrogator /'ki/ "who", is used by itself in front of personal pronouns. Examples:

/ki 'mwẽ↓/	"who am I?"
/ki 'u↓/	"who are you?"
/ki 'li↓/	"who is he?"
/ki 'nu↓/	"who are we, you?"
/ki 'jo↓/	"who are they?"

b. /'je/ is defective in clauses with interrogator /a'pa/. Examples:

/apa 'u↓/	"Isn't that you?"
/apa 'kajla↓/	"Isn't that the house"
/apa 'pamnã↓/	"Isn't that mine?"

c. /'je/ is optional when interrogative nominal compounds formed with /'ki/ are used, especially in common questions requesting often needed information. Examples:

/ki laʒ li 'je↓/	"What's his age?"
/ki laʒ 'li↓/	
/ki grosœ li 'je↓/	"What's his size?"
/ki grosœ 'li↓/	
/ki pri li 'je↓/	"What's its price?"
/ki pri 'li↓/	

/ki metje li 'je↓/ /ki metje 'li↓/	"What's his trade?"

d. /'je/ is optional with interrogators /ki'lɛs/ "who?", /ko'te/ "where?", /kõ'bjẽ/ "how much, many?" Examples:

/kilɛs li 'je↓/ /kilɛs 'li↓/	"who is he?"
/kote u 'je↓/ /kote 'u↓/	"where are you?"
/kote otoa 'je↓/ /kote o'toa↓/	"Where is the car?"
/kõbjẽ ʃwalla 'je↓/ /kõbjẽ 'ʃwalla↓/	"how much is the horse?"

e. /'je/ is also optional any time interrogators, or interrogative nominal-phrases with /'ki/ "which", except /ki'sa/ /'sa/ "what?", are used in front of subject /'sa/ "that". Examples:

/kũmã sa 'je↓/ /kũmã 'sa↓/	"How is that?"
/kimũn sa 'je↓/ /kimũn 'sa↓/	"who is that?"
/kibð sa 'je↓/ /kibð 'sa↓/	"where is that?"
/ki papje sa 'je↓/ /ki papje 'sa↓/	"what paper is this?"

f. In fact, in the utterances being dealt with now, /'je/ is strictly mandatory only with interrogator /ki'sa/ /'sa/ "what?". Next in line in mandatory occurrences, come /kũ'mã/ "how?", /ki'bò/ /kiko'te/ "where?", /ki'mũn/ "who", when they are not followed by a subject /'sa/ "that".

Examples:

/kisa li 'je↓/	"what is it?"
/sa u 'je↓/	"what are you?"
/kũmã pjɛ 'je↓/	"How is Pierre?"
/kibò nu 'je↓/	"Where are we?"
/kikote ãri 'je↓/	"Where is Henry?"
/kimũn li 'je↓/	"who is he?"

10.24 COPULATIVE COMMANDS

Speakers of Haitian Creole use constructions like:

/ãn emab a'vɛl↓/	"Let's be kind with him"
/emab a'vɛl↓/	"be kind with him"
/ãn laba a mi'di↓/	"let's be there at noon"

But the informants I have questioned described them as unusual and unfamiliar, although they admit having sometimes heard or used similar utterances, accompanied by gestures and emphatic stresses. Moreover, no where in the lanʒuage have I been able to find commands such as:

*/bõ ʃo'fœ↓/	"be a good driver"
*/dok'tœ↓/	"be a doctor"
*/avo 'ka↓/	"be a lawyer"

that were rejected by all informants as soon as they were suggested.

The occurring examples of commands, no matter how unusual, do however illustrate a formation for copulative commands, if the predicate is adjectival or adverbial, consisting of a defective base-form, and the use of command-marker /ã'nu/ or /'ãn/ in first person plural. Such eliptical structures require in the spoken language, an abundance of additional help, such as unusual intonation or stress, or paralinguistic gestures, but no matter how much effort the speaker makes to arrange them, they still seem clumsy. Thus, the usual preference is for the replacement of copulative commands by the imperative verbal idioms /se 'pu/ and /'fò/ (C 10.12). Examples:

/sepu nu e'mab↓/ /fò nu e'mab↓/	"let's be nice"
/sepu u avo'ka↓/ /fò u avo'ka↓/	"be a lawyer"

10.25 DEIXIS-MARKING

Deixis-marking of the copula is done by using the form /'mẽ/ defined under 10.21. Presence of the deixis-marker means automatic deletion of the base. /'mẽ/ is always clause-initial, and can be followed only by nominal predicates, which can be whole clauses, or by pause if a nominal predicate is implied. Examples:

/mẽ pa'pam↓/	"here is my father"
/mẽ 'livla↓/	"here is the book"
/mẽ 'nu↓/	"here we are"

/'mẽ↓/	"here!"
/m̩ 'dil→ mẽ o'tol↓/	"I told him here in his car"
/mè sa m̩ te 'di↓/	"here is what I said"

Because of their deictic properties and their present tense implications, copulative structures with /'mẽ/ are mostly used without tense or aspect-markers. However, in cases where the context lends itself to such possibilities, for example in utterances descriptive of the size of a person or thing, we may find markers for tense and aspect. These These markers will follow /'mẽ/. Examples:

/mẽ gro'sæl↓/	"this is his size"
/mẽ te gro'sæl↓/	"this was his size"
/mẽ va gro'sæl↓/	"this will be his size"
/mẽ ta gro'sæl↓/	"this would be his size"
/mẽ ap gro'sæl↓/	"this is going to be his size"

etc., context permitting. Notice the future meaning of progressive /'ap/ (C 10.12). /'mẽ/ cannot be used in negative utterances. The nature itself of its deictic properties explains such an impossibility.

10.26 SUMMARY OF THE COPULATIVE CONJUGATIONS

10.261 Impersonal /'se/

Unmarked:	/'se/	"it is"

Marked: Markers follow /'se/. All three tense-markers are used. Only aspect-markers /'fɛk/ /fɛk'sɔ̀t/ /'pral/ and /fɛk'pral/ have been found to occur currently.

10.262 Personal /se/

Unmarked:	/m̩ 'se/	"I am"
	/u 'se/	"you are"

/li 'se/	"he, she, it is"
/nu 'se/	"we, you are"
/jo 'se/	"they are"

Marked: /se/ is always defective; tense-markers and aspect-markers are used without a base.

10.263 Base /'je/

Unmarked:	/m̩ 'je/	"I am"
	/u 'je/	"you are"
	/li 'je/	"he, she, it is"
	/nu 'je/	"we, you are"
	/jo 'je/	"they are"

Marked: Follows general patterns of verbs as described under C 10.151, and C 10.152.

11. THE FORM-CLASSES WITHIN THE SENTENCE

This chapter deals with the usual positions of occurrence of the form-classes in the sentence. It is intended to help toward their better understanding, by showing how and where in longer strings, they do occur. It is not to be construed as a syntactic analysis of the Creole sentence. Simple and productive types of noun-phrases and verb-phrases will be presented in formula-like strings, with the use of the following abreviations for the corresponding items:

adj.:	descriptive adjective
adv.:	adverb or adverbial phrase
a.m.:	aspect-marker
def. art.:	definite article
deic. art.:	deictic article
det.:	determiner
N_m:	main noun (head noun)
N_s:	secondary noun or nouns
NP:	noun-phrase
neg.:	negator
obj.:	object
per. art.:	personal or possessive article
pro.:	pronoun
quan.:	quantifier
Q:	interrogator
S:	sentence
t.m.:	tense-marker

V:	verb
VP:	verb-phrase
( ):	optional

11.1 The sentence

Haitian Creole utterances like

1. /lenð ri've↓/

   "Lenor arrived"

2. /akola lŏve 'tɛtli↓/

   "Acolas raised his head"

3. /ð fi pote ð bðl 'pwa↓/

   "A girl brought a bowl of beans"

4. /bðlla te gẽ bulɛt la'dãl↓/

   "The bowl had meat-balls in it"

5. /lenð prã bðl bu'lɛtla↓/

   "Lenor took the meat-ball bowl"

6. /puki u kite tra'vajla↓/

   "Why did you leave the job?"

7. /m̩ pa kite tra'vajla↓/

   "I didn't leave the job"

are sentences. Basically they all can be analysed as

(1) NP + VP

indeed just an alternate representation of the more traditional definition in terms of 'subject' and 'predicate'. If we reanalyze VP as V + NP for example, we can rewrite formula (1) as

(2) $NP_1 + V + NP_2$

Word-order is extremely strict in Haitian. Consequently, NP_1 can only be subject, and NP_2 object. If there are both direct and indirect objects, the indirect object is closer to the verb:

(3) $NP_1 + V + NP_{ind. obj.} + NP_{dir. obj.}$

The examples given above as well as sentences available all through the texts of Part D show the consistency of such structures. The nuclei of the Haitian Creole sentence are then the noun and the verb. Other form-classes are used in combination with them to build noun-phrases and verb-phrases of various levels of complexity. One form however, can be said to function at the level of the sentence: it is the interrogator, as examplified in sentence # 6. An interrogative sentence can be represented as

(4) $Q + NP + VP$

11.2 The noun-phrase

A simple test can be used to identify the Haitian NP in the sentence. I will call it the /'se/ test. It is applied as follows:

a. Begin with the form /'se/ "it is" for affirmative, or /se'pa/ for negative sentences, or by any of their tense or aspect variants such as /se 'te/ "it was", /se 'pral/ "it's going to be", etc. If there is an interrogator, put it before /'se/.

b. Follow with the NP to be tested

c. Put the relator /'ki/ or /'kö/ "which" (respectively subject and object).

d. Fill with the rest of the utterance. If the string obtained is grammatical and complete in meaning, anything between /'se/ and the relator is an NP.

Applying the /'se/ test to the seven sentences of 11.1 we have:

1. /se lenò ki ri've↓/
2. /se akola ki löve 'tɛtli↓/
   /se tɛtli kö akola lö've↓/
3. /se õ fi ki pote õ bòl 'pwa↓/
   /se õ bòl pwa kö õ fi po'te↓/
4. /se bòlla ki te gẽ bulɛt la'dãl↓/
   /se bulɛt kö bòlla te gẽ la'dãl↓/
5. /se lenò ki prã bòl bu'lɛtla↓/
   /se bol bulɛtla kö lenò 'prã↓/
6. /puki se u ki kite tra'vajla↓/
   /puki se travajla kö u ki'te↓/
7. /se pa mwẽ ki kite tra'vajla↓/
   /se pa travajla kö m̩ ki'te↓/

All the underlined items are noun-phrases. In #6 and #7 respectively, /'u/ and /'m̩/ are more specifically pronouns. But since structurally, pronouns are just substitutes for noun-phrases, no additional analysis is necessary. According to the test, since strings like

*/se rive kö le'nò↓/
*/se rive ki le'nò /
*/se löve tɛtli kö ako'la↓/
*/se löve tɛtli ki ako'la↓/ etc.

are not acceptable sentences, the forms following /'se/ are not noun-phrases.

Among the common types of noun-phrases are those listed below.

The pronoun:

(5) pro.

The noun:

(6) $N_m + (N_s)$

The adjective with a noun

(7) N_m + (N_s description) + (int.) + adj.

(8) N_m + (int.) + adj. + (N_s possessor) + (int.) + (adj.)

(9) (int.) + adj. + N_m + (N_s + (int.)+(adj.))

(10) (int.) + adj. + Nm + (int.) + adj. + (N_s + (int.) + (adj.))

The determiner with a noun

(11) N_m + (N_s description) + (int.) + (adj.) + det.

(12) N_m + (N_s description) + (int.) + (adj.)
+ per. art. + def. art.

(13) N_m + (N_s description) + (int.) + (adj.)
+per. art. + deic. art.

(14) N_m + (N_s description) + (int.) + (adj.)
+per. art. + def. art. + deic. art.

(15) N_m + (int.) + (adj.) + (N_s possessor) + (det.)

(16) N_m + (int.) + (adj.) + (N_s possessor)
+per. art. + def. art.

(17) N_m + (int.) + (adj.) + (N_s possessor)
+per. art. + deic. art.

(18) N_m + (int.) + (adj.) + (N_s possessor)
+per. art. + def. art. + deic. art.

(19) (int.) + (adj.) + N_m + (N_s + (int.) (adj.)) + det.

(20) (int.) + (adj.) + N_m + (N_s + (int.) (adj.))

+per. art. + def. art.

(21) (int.) + (adj.) + N_m + (N_s + (int) + (adj.))

+per. art. + deic. art.

(22) (int.) + (adj.) + N_m + (N_s + (int.) (adj.))

+per. art. + def. art. +deic. art.

The quantifier with a noun

(23) Quan. + N_m + (N_s description) + (int.)

(24) Quan. + N_m + (int.) + (adj.) + (N_s possessor + (int.) +(adj.)) + (det.)

(25) Quan. + (int.) + (adj.) + N_m + $(N_s)_{\text{(description)}}$ + (int.) +(adj.)

11.3 The verb-phrase

The Creole verb is defined under C 10.1. The following test which I will call the /si li 'ka/ "if he can" test can serve to identify verb-phrases.

a. The complete sentence is uttered and followed by /si li 'ká/.

b. The VP being tested is then added.

c. If the resulting sentence is grammatical, everything that follows /si li 'ka/ is a VP

Of course /'li/ can be replaced by other pronouns if the meaning so requires.

Applying the /si li 'ka/ test to the sentences of 11,1, one obtains:

/lenò ri've+ si li ka ri've+/

/akola löve 'tɛtli si li ka löve 'tɛtli↓/

/õ fi pote õ bòl 'pwa→ si li ka pote õ bòl 'pwa↓/ etc.

All the underlined items are verb-phrases. Any string obtained by having /si li 'ka/ followed by any other parts of the sentences would lead to unacceptable utterances.

Common types of verb-phrases are as follows:

The verb:

(26) V + (NP)

The negator with a verb

(27) neg. + V + (NP)

The adverb or adverbial phrase with a verb

(28) (neg.) + V + (NP) + adv.

The markers with a verb

(29) (neg.) + (t.m.) + (a.m.) + V + (NP) + (adv.)

The noun-phrases functioning as objects of V are constituted similarly to those already described. However, one particular V + NP structure requires special attention. It is the reflexive construction with /'tɛt/ in which we have:

(30) (neg) + V + /'tɛt/ + per. art. + (adv.)

11.4 Examples with word by word translations:

(1) /akola löve 'tɛtli/

"Acolas raised head his"

(2) /õ fi pote õ bòl 'pwa/

"A girl brought a bowl of beans"

(3) /fia baj akola bòl 'pwaa/

"The girl gave Acolas bowl of beans the"

(4) /puki u kite tra'vajla/

"Why did you leav job the"

(5) /'u/

"you"

(6) /pje 'tab/

"leg of table"

(7) /tab bwa pi kra'ze/

"table of wood more broken"

(8) /tab pi kraze profesœ pi se'vɛ/

"table more broken of teacher more severe"

(9) /pi vje tab profesœ pi se'vɛ/

"older table of teacher more severe"

(10) /pi vje tab pi kraze profesœ pi se'vɛ/

"older table more broken of teacher more severe"

(11) /tab bwa pi kra'zea/

"table of wood more broken the"

(12) /tab bwa pi kraze'lia/

"table of wood more broken his the"

(13) /tab bwa pi kraze'lisaa/

"table of wood more broken his this"

(14) /tab bwa pi kra'zeliasaa/

"table of wood more broken his the this"

(15) /tab pi kraze profe'sœa/

"table more broken of teacher the"

(16) /tab pi kraze profe'sœlia/

"table more broken of teacher his the"

(17) /tab pi kraze profe'sœlisaa/

"table more broken of teacher his this"

(18) /tab pi kraze profe'sœliasaa/

"table more broken of teacher his the this"

(19) /pi vje tab bwa pi po'lia/

"older table of wood more polished the"

(20) /pi vje tab bwa pi po'lilia/

"older table of wood more polished his the"

(21) /pi vje tab bwa pi po'lilisaa/

"older table of wood more polished his this"

(22) /pi vje tab bwa pi po'liliasaa/

"older table of wood more polished his the this"

(23) /kɛk tab bwa pi kra'zejo/

"some tables of wood more broken the"

(24) /kɛk tab pi kraze profesœ pi se'vɛa/

"some tables more broken ot teacher more severe the"

(25) /kɛk pi vje tab bwa pi po'li/

"some older tables of wood more polished"

(26) /lŏve 'mẽli/

"raise hand his"

(27) /pa lŏve 'mẽli/

"not raise hand his"

(28) /pa lŏve mẽli 'nɛt/

"not raise hand his completely"

(29) /pa te pral lŏve mẽli 'nɛt/

"not was going to raise hand his completely"

(30) /pa tuje tɛtli ã'kò/

"not kills himself anymore"

D. Texts

The texts were collected with the primary intention of using them in the structural analysis of the language, and of submitting to the reader samples and illustrations of the described features. No special attention was given to content value. During the interviews I tried to allow the informant as much freedom in the choice of the topics as possible, to preserve a high degree of naturalness. The following anecdotes told by M.S. were his own spontaneous choices. Except for the speech of the Brooklyn lady and that of the girl visiting her (Text No. 1), all the features are typical of the Port-au-Prince area's dialect.

Characteristics of the Haitian Creole speaker as a member of a society can be observed in the texts. Consequently, some specific comments will follow each text, in which I will try to bring salient ethnolinguistic traits to the reader's attention. Also, interpretation of idioms, proverbs, and the like, that appear in the stories will be attempted. I would like to make clear, however, that the few comments I will offer should in no way be considered as ethnographic analysis, which of course would require in situ observation, not just anecdotes. I would also like to contribute the following remarks based on my own evaluation of some native Haitian traits:

In general, the Haitian Creole speaker appreciates and likes to use fluent and abundant speech with lots of proverbs. His oral expression is seldom without numerous gestures and onomatopeic sounds. He also shows very little "discipline" in animated conversations or discussions: it is typical that in such instances, the interlocutors talk past each other, that is to say, that everybody speaks at the same time, and nobody listens. The native generally demonstrates extreme reservation in communicating with strangers, or with anybody who doesn't belong to his own immediate circle. He is, nevertheless, very sensitive to good manners and courtesy.

I have found that too many Haitians are unfortunately unaware of the importance of their vernacular. They don't seem to realize that it is the carrier through which are transmitted their values, their beliefs, their folklore, in one word, their culture, even that of the tiny minority of the elite that professes to have adopted French ways. The native sociolinguistic features of the Haitian people can be, of course, better discovered if one looks for them in their Creole expression, not in French. An example of the degree to which Creole is taken for granted or neglected, is the common belief among its speakers that it has no grammar. People associate criteria of correctness only with French. Parents focus no attention on the Creole speech of their children, and I can personally testify to the fact that during all the years of my life among Haitians, I have never heard anybody correct a child, or explain to him the proper way of talking the language. The child goes without any formal Creole instruction, since the adults believe that it has no rules. The following text has been edited only by the removal of pause-fillers, false starts, and hesitations.

Text #1

New York's Creoglish

bruklin nu'jòk→ gẽ õ lòt 'lãg→ aisjẽ 1

(In) Brooklyn, New York, there is another language the Haitians

pa'le↓ li pa ã'gle↓ li pa frãse↓ li pa krejòl↓ se õ 2

speak. It's not English, it's not French, it's not Creole. It's a

melãʒ dö tu 'sa↓ lò u rive 'la→ fò u met zòrɛju 3

mixture of all that. When you arrive there, you must set your ear

'bjẽ→ pu tãde 'lãgnã→ e fò u abitWe 4

well, in order to understand the language, and you must be accustomed

'la→ pu kõ'nẽ↓ paskö sak vin ri've→ timũn ki 5

there, in order to know. Because, what has happened, children who

grãdi 'la→ li sœlmã jo kõ'nẽ↓ paskö u pote nã õ lòt 6

grew up there, only it they know. Because, you bring to another

'lãg→ sa u te gẽ nã lãg 'paw↓ 7

language what you had in your own language.

alò m̩ rive õ ʒu bru'klin→ mal wɛ õ mãdãm köm 8

Thus, I arrived one day in Brooklyn, I went to see a lady that I

pat wɛ döpWi lõ'tã↓ map rakõte 'nu→ sak pa'se→ loe m̩ 9

didn't see for a long time. I am telling you what happened when I ar-

rive kaj ma'dãmnã↓ madamnã se 'mũnmwẽ→ u̩ rive m̩ fra'pe→ 10

rived at the lady's house. The lady is my friend. I arrive, I knock, li kõtã 'wɛm→ li 'dim→ 'woj↓ moris pi'titmwẽ→ ala u 11

she is happy to see me, she says: "Oh, Maurice, my son, gosh, you are

'ra↓ u ra pase la'ʒã↓ fɔ̀ di tu kö 12

rare! You are more rare than money. (One) has to say also that

i'si→ tupatu 'lwẽ↓ m̥ dil 'mẽ→ u kõ'nẽ→ makõ'mɛ→ 13

here, everywhere is far." I told her: "But you know, my good friend,

si nu pa 'wɛ→ m̥ pa blijew pu 'sa↓ 14

if we don't see (each other), I have not forgotten you for that.

zãmi pre se kuto ti're↓ mẽ zãmi lwẽ se laʒã 15

A friend who is near is a drawn knife, but a friend who is far is money

se're↓ li di 'σ→ wa tuye mũn a provɛb pa'pa↓ 16

saved". She said: "Ah, you will kill people with proverbs, my friend."

e'pi→ li ã'tre↓ li fɛm ʃi'ta↓ li di 'mwẽ→ 17

Then she went inside, she made me sit down. She said to me:

moris pi'titmwẽ→ ɛsköw sõʒe tifi nu te kõtre i'sia↓ aja'jaj→ 18

"Maurice, my son, do you remember the girl we met here? Oh my gosh!

umẽm u se 'muñ→ lɔ̀ u di õ pa'rɔ̀l→ se fini 'wi↓ 19

You, you are a person, when you say a word, that's finished really.

parɔ̀lu se bagaj re'gle↓ m̥ sõʒe õ bagaj u te 'dim↓ u di 20

Your words are sure things. I remember a thing you told me, you told

'mwẽ→ lɔ̀ õ ʃat plẽn ãtre nã õ 'fu→ sepa pẽ lal 21

me that when a pregnant cat got into an oven, it's not bread it goes 'fɛ→ se ti'ʃat↓ se bagaj se'rjö↓ m̩ di ki tifi 'sa↓ li 22

to make, it's kittens. That is serious." I said: "What girl?" She

di→ tifi pa madã robo'ram→ tifi mɛt'damnã↓ m̩ di o'wi→ 23

said: "The girl of Mrs. Roboram, the wise girl". I said: "Oh yes!

'wi→ 'wi→ 'wi→ 'wi↓ li di mõ'ʃɛ→ m̩ di lɛ m̩ te wɛ 24

Yes, yes, yes, yes!" She said: "My dear, I thought that when I saw

u ã'kõ→ fõm rakõ'tew↓ figüre'vu→ nu nã kaj'la→ dɛnje mũn 25

you again, I must tell you. Imagine, we are in the house, everybody

bi'zi↓ u kõ'nẽ↓ sa jo rele bi'zi↓ marite'rɛz↓ ap fɛ 26

is busy. You know. What they call busy. Mary-Therese is doing (the)

di'ʃiz↓ ka'mɛn→ al nã lõ'dri↓ mari'clod→ al nã 27

dishes. Carmen went to (the) laundry. Mary-Claude went to (the)

ma'kɛt↓ ʒera ʃita bõ 'tabla→ ap fil õ inkõm'taks↓ kõ sa 28

market. Gerard is sitting at the table, filing an income-tax. Then,

m̩ tã'de→ jo rĩg dõ'bɛlla↓ m̩ lö've→ pu mal rele ui'zit↓ 29

I hear someone ring the door-bell, I got up to ask who is it. Effect-

kõmdöfɛt mopẽn 'dõa↓ kõ sa m̩ wɛ tifi lõt 'boa→ ki 30

ively, I open the door. At that moment I saw the girl over there, who

te pral ʒete ga'bedʒ↓ m̩ ga'de→ m̩ wɛ õ bagaj maske 'nɛt↓ u 31

was going to take out garbage. I looked, I saw a real masquerade. You

kõnẽ nã wintɛ'tajm→ lɛ jõ sõ'ti→ se madigra kö 32

know, during winter time, when they go out, it's a mardi-gras that

u 'wɛ↓ m̩ rele ui'zit↓ li di 'mwẽ→ se mwẽmẽm ʒi'nɛt↓ 33

you see. I asked who is it. She told me: 'It's myself Jeannette.'

m̩ di ki ʒi'nɛt↓ li di pa madã robo'ramnã↓ m̩ dil stɛp'in↓ 34

I said what Jeannette? She said Mrs. Roboram's. I told her to step in.

lɛ li ã'tre→ m̩ cloz 'dòa↓ li kõmãse wete ba'gaj→ 35

When she got inside, I closed the door. She began to take things off,

'bɔ̀t→ ba'gaj→ mã'tɔ→ m̩ dil 'ɔ→ pi'tit↑ kõmã u luk 36

boots, things, coat. I told her: 'Well child, how come you look

tajɛd kõ 'sa↓ gẽ lɛ u te nã let'ʃo↑ li dim 'wi→ li 37

so tired? It seems you were in the late show!' She told me yes, she

te nã letʃo jɛ 'swa↓ pu õ timun ki te nã let'ʃɔ→ 38

was in the late show last night. For a child who was in the late show

pu̩ vin ãtre nã piktjœnu grãmma'tẽsaa↑ 'a→ m̩sjö 39

to come and enter into our picture that early morning! Ah! Mr.

mo'ris↓ tifia pa te ko ʃi'ta→ li mãde bat'rum↓ 40

Maurice! The girl had not sat down yet, she asked for the bathroom

m̩ fɛ ʒera lö've→ al mõtrel bat'rumnã↓ epi m̩sjö 41

I made Gerard stand up to go to show her the bathroom. And then Mr.

mo'ris→ m̩ voje zjöm nã win'doa→ kalite esno gẽ nã 42

Maurice, I gave a glance in the window. Such a snow there was on

es'tritla→ sepa bagaj m̩ ka respõ'sab↓ nowõn'dœ 43
the street, it's not a thing I could be responsible for. One wonders

jõ timũn ka lö've→ grãmma'tẽsaa→ pu vin i'sia→ 44
(how) a child can get up, that early in the morning, to come overhere,

dis'tãssaa→ se dɛjɛ gòsip lap vi'ni↓ tifia rötunẽ 45
that distance. It is for gossip she is coming. The girl returned

ʃi'ta↓ eni'we→ li vin ãvi'zit→ ba'gaj→ sa m̩ fɛ m̩ mãde 46
to sit down. Anyway, she came on a visit, kind of, what I did, I asked

'li→ sil pap prã õ tas ka'fe↓ djœs bagaj pu ʒãti 47
her if she will not take a cup of coffee. Just a thing to be kind

ak 'li↓ li di 'nõ→ li pap bwɛ ka'fe↓ m̩ dil sak 48
with her. She said no, she won't drink coffee. I asked her what hap-

ri've→ kote li pra'le↓ m̩ di 'bõ→ kote tiga'sõ→ kö u 49
pened, where she is going. I said: 'Well, where is the boy that you

te rẽ'mẽã↓ m̩ tãde li te nã pri'zõ↓ li di 'wi→ jo bel 50
loved? I heard he was in jail!' She said: 'Yes, they bailed

li autof'djel↓ m̩ 'di→: ala traka pa'pa↓ 'bõ→ u rẽmẽ 51
him out of jail.' I said: 'What a trouble gosh! Well! You love

tigasõã tu'ʒu↑ li di pi 'rɛd→ m̩ dil 'a→ u sõ timũn 52
the boy still?' She said: 'More.' I told her: 'Ah, you are a girl

ki kõn sa u 'vle↓ mwẽ'mẽm→ map refle'ʃi→ m̩ gade pi'titla↓ 53
who knows what you want.' Myself, I am thinking. I look at the girl.

m̩ dil 'bõ→ re'te→ jo dim nu 'muv↓ li dim 'wi→ 54
I told her: 'Well, wait, they told me you moved'. She said: 'yes

mãmã muv döpWi dö sö'mẽn↓ m̩ di kò'mã↓ mãmãw 'muv→ 55
mommy moved since two weeks!' I said: 'How come? Your mother moved,

li pa kòl mwẽ pu dim 'sa↑ li di o 'wi→ nu poko 56
she didn't call me to tell me that?' She said: 'Well! We do not yet

gẽ tele'fòn↓ m̩ dil 'a→ nu po'ko→ nu poko 57
have a phone. I told her: 'Ah, you have not yet, you have not yet

'muv↓ paskö õ mũn ki pa gẽ telefòn i'si→ u mãke õ 58
moved, because a person who does not have a phone here, you miss an

'bra↓ li di 'wi→ jo mãde tele'fònnã→ mãmã di kũ 59
arm'. She said: 'Yes, they asked for the phone; mommy said that when

li gẽ tele'fònnã→ la kòl 'u↓ alò mape gade 60
she has the phone, she will call you'. Well, I kept looking at the

pititla 'laa→ m̩ di bò nu 'muv→ kûnjea ki 61
girl there, I said: 'Good! You moved. At this moment what (is)

bi'twinu↓ li di o 'wi→ m̩ pa kõn bi'twinnã↓ 62
your between?' She said: 'Well, I don't know the between.'

m̩ di kũ'mã↓ u muv u pa kõn bi'twinu↑ kũmã 63
I said: 'How come? You move and you don't know your between?' How

m̩sjö mo'ris↓ pu õ timũn nã nu'jòk→ epi u pa kõn 64
Mr. Maurice, for a child to be in New York, and you don't know your

bi'twinu↓ 'aa→ timùn alɛkile ap vwajaʒe 'vaaag↓ 'aa→ si u 65

between. Ah! Today's children are travelling insecure. Ah! If you

ẽdispoze nã õ ta'ksi→ nã õ ba'gaj→ u pa kõn bi'twinu→ kote 66

get sick in a taxi, in a thing, you don't know your between, where

pu jo mẽ'nẽw→ ki kalite ti pœpsaa u tãde m̩sjö 67

for them to take you? What kind of little people you hear about, sir,

'ooo↓ ki kalite de pa'rɔ̀lsajo↓ ala de parɔ̀l sã'ti↓ li 68

oh! What kind of talks (are) those! What smelly talks! She (is)

la pa'se→ lap oküpe õ afɛ rẽ'mẽ→ 'aa→ madã roboram 69

there only, she is taking care of a love affair. Ah! Mrs. Roboram,

pa'pa→ sa se lave 'mẽ→ suje a'tɛ↓ 70

dear, this is (to) wash (your) hands, and (to) rub (them) on the floor.

Comments

"New York's Creoglish" was especially intended to show examples of relexification in context. A short discussion of that phenomenon can be found under A.5.2221, where the relexified items are also listed in the same order together with the corresponding standard Creole forms.

It is not surprising that many of the relexified terms involve primarily vocabulary designating ideas that either are not part of everyday standard Creole language, or belong more intrinsically to the American way of life. For example, the adoption of such English forms as:

Line 27	laundry
Line 28	market
Line 29	ring (the) door-bell
Line 29	who is it
Line 31	garbage
Line 32	winter time
Line 35	close (the) door
Line 37	late show
Line 42	snow
Line 45	gossip
Lines 50-51	bail out of jail
Lines 54, 55, 58, 61	move
Lines 56, 60	call
Lines 62, 63, 65, 66	between

is an understandable phenomenon. In Haiti, people don't go to the laundromat, since there is none; they do their washing at home, or the washing-lady comes and takes the clothes away. The food store known here as 'market' doesn't find its counter-part if translated as /ma'ʃe/; the typical Haitian /ma'ʃe/ is a place where one buys directly from the peasants who produce the goods. Haitians don't "ring doorbells", they knock at doors. They don't ask "who is it", the cities and towns are so safe, one just opens the door. The distinction between "garbage" and "trash" for the Haitian immigrants is a novelty; in their home-land everything is /fa'tra/. There is no winter and no snow on the island; northern winters and freezing temperatures, until not long ago, were for them phenomena they had read about in books; the cold weather they so suddenly were brought to feel, and the white flakes that accompany it, were experienced at the same time that the words "winter" and "snow" were becoming familiar to them, in New York. Normally in Haiti, people don't think about closing doors for the same reasons it is done here; that is, not to let the cold air in, to protect oneself against intruders, etc. /fɛmẽ 'pòtla / was not said as often as "close the door" that now they hear constantly. There are gossips in Haiti, no doubts, but the Haitian Creole speaker must somehow have realized that the American style of gossip has other cultural features, and should not be called by the standard Creole word /tripo'taj/. Since the crime rate in Haiti is close to zero, "bailing out of jail" is completely unknown to the average Haitian: standard Creole /lage su ko'sjõ/ is probably a term with which only lawyers and court people are familiar. Moving from apartment to apartment, from house to house, calling on the telephone from all places, are not either things that the Haitian speakers were familiar with before their exile. Also, since their cities are small and people are friendly, everybody knows everyplace and everyone; so, when the they came to this country and found their address as being, for example, "93rd street between Broadway and Amsterdam", they made a noun out of the preposition "between", and started to ask people for their "betweens" instead of their addresses. Finally, many of the newly arrived Haitians, as well as those who have lived in New-York without having the opportunity to learn English well, speak and hear this language imperfectly. They may then sometimes relexify the wrong word. This might be the case on line 43 where we find /nowõ'dœ/, when what was meant was probably, not "no wonder", but "one wonders".

Faithful to the traditional Haitian Creole style, M.S. has used several proverbs that do require interpretation.

Line 15:

/zãmi pre se kuto ti're→ mẽ zãmi lwẽ se laʒã se're↓/

means that one fights with a friend who lives close by, but gets along well with one who lives far away.

Lines 21 - 22

/lõ õ ʃat plẽn ãtre nã 'fu→ se pa pẽ lal'fɛ→ se ti'ʃat↓/

means that you should expect people to behave the way they are known to be capable of behaving.

Line 70

/lave 'mẽ→ suje a'tɛ↓/

is said when somebody is wasting his efforts.

Text #2

Achylle

aʃil→ sete õ vjö zã'mimwẽ→ ki te rete rü sẽtono're↓ 1

Achylle was an old friend of mine who lived on Saint Honoré Street.

'mẽ→ sõ nõm ki te pase lekòl dö'dwa→ õ lü'tœ→ 'aaa↓ u 2

But, he is a man who had gone to law school, a fighter, oh yes! You

kõn ŏ 'nõm→ ki kite la'kajli→ ak õ tas ka'fe→ ki tunẽ 3

know, a man who leaves his house with one cup of coffee, who returns

ak mẽm tas ka'fea↑ lap ʃɛʃɛ kote krövãa 'je↓ 'aaa↓ 4

with the same cup of coffee, he is searching where the help is. Ah!

õ bõ lü'tœ↓ 'mẽ→ aʃil te õ nõm 'tu→ ki pat ʒãm láge 5

A good fighter. But Achylle was also a man who had never abandoned

'liv↓ a'lò→ a'ʃil→ m̩ te pretel twa 'liv↓ epi õ ʒu 6

books. Then, Achylle, I had lent him three books. And then one day,

dimãʃ ma'tẽ→ m̩ pat ʒãm kõn kaj a'ʃil↓ nu te tuʒu 7

(a) Sunday morning, I had never known Achylle's house, we had always

kõ'tre→ m̩ te travaj nã õ ʒu'nal→ m̩ pretel 'livjo→ li pase nã 8

met, I worked for a newspaper, I lent him the books, he stopped at the

ʒunal wɛ 'mwẽ→ alò m̩ vin bözwẽ prete õ mũn 'livjo→ 9

paper to see me. Then, I came to need to lend a person the books,

epi mal ʃɛʃɛ livjo kaj a'ʃil↓ alò se pu m̩ 10

and I went to get the books at Achylle's. Then, it is for me (to) di nu kisa m̩ 'wɛ→ ki fɛ m̩ rive su koze a'ʃilla↓ 11

tell you what I saw, that makes me arrive at the Achylle tale.

lɛm rive m̩ fra'pe→ aʃil te ret pu'kõtli→ li 12

When I arrived I knocked. Achylle was living by himself. He

pat ma'rje↓ m̩ fra'pe→ m̩ pase nã õ ti koridò a'vã→ 13

was not married. I knocked. I passed through a small alley before,

suko'te→ ba'gaj→ m̩ pa'se→ epi m̩ fra'pe↓ aʃil 14

on the side, kind of. I passed through, and then I knocked. Achylle

parɛt su 'mwẽ→ avɛk jõ sulje ʒòn ki gẽ 'tru→ 'mẽ talõljo 15

appeared before me, with a yellow shoe that had holes, but his heels

su rãfò su'ljea↓ li gẽ õ pãtalõ blö ki 16

(were) on the back of the shoe. He had a (pair of) blue trousers that

pɛdü ku'lœ↓ ki gẽ tru tupa'tu↓ jõ ʃemiz blãʃ ki mãke 17

had lost color, that had holes everywhere, a white shirt that missed

õ 'bra↓ mẽ ʃö'mizla→ se õ ãsjẽ ʃemiz blãʃ 'wi↓ paskö li pa blãʃ 18

an arm. But the shirt was an old white shirt, since it was not white

ã'kò↓ ʃövö aʃil kã'pe↓ alò lœ m̩ pa'rɛt→ aʃil tap 19

anymore. Achylle's hair was standing. Then, when I came, Achylle was

grate dɛjɛ ʒö'nuli→ epi li dim kõ 'saaa→ 20

scratching the back of his knee. And then he told me like this:

mòj mõ'ʃɛ→ ãveri'te m̩ pat kõnẽw tap vin laa 'nõ↓ m̩ 21

"Moy, my dear, really, I didn't know you were coming here." I 'di→ gẽlɛ m̩ derã'ʒew↓ li di 'nõ→ u pa derãʒe 22

said: "It seems that I bother you." He said: "No, you don't bother

'mwẽ↓ mõ'ʃɛ→ se õ bagaj fòmi'dab↓ m̩ pa dòmi tut 23

me. My dear, it is a formidable thing I have not slept the whole

lănWit mõ'ʃɛ→ m̩ dil pa beti'ze↓ sak ri've↓ li 24

night, my dear". I said to him: "No kidding. What happened?" He

'dim→ pü'nɛɛɛz↓ u pa gẽ pü'nɛz↓ m̩ di 'nõ↓ li 25

said to me: "Bed bugs! You don't have bed bugs?" I said no. He

'dim→ mõ'ʃɛ→ pünɛz ap devore bünda õ nõm i'siii↓ si m̩ 26

told me: "Dear, bed bugs are devouring a man's behind here. If I

lõve but matlaa pu u 'laa→ ãdire tut 27

raise the mattress' corner for you here, it seems (that) all the (bed)

pünɛz nã pe'jia→ se ãba matlam jo 'jeee↓ epi li 'di 28

bugs in the country, it's under my mattress they are." And he said:

mõ'ʃɛ→ sak pi rɛd ã'kò→ pãdã lap di 'sa→ lap 29

"My dear, what is worse still...". While he is saying that, he is

gra'te↓ aʃil gẽ gro glòb su 'li→ lɛl rale 30

scratching. Achylle has big lumps on himself. When he pulls off

pãtalõl mõ'trem↓ 'aaa→ se bagaj seriõ 'wi↓ li di mõ'ʃɛ→ 31

his pants to show me. Ah! It's a serious thing! He said: "My dear sak pi rεd ã'kò→ lε u gĕ pünεzla 'laa→ u pa ka kõbat 32

what is worse still, when you have the bed bug there, you cannot fight

a pü'nεzjo↓ jo mõtrem õ ba'gaj pu pü'nεz→ se õ 33

with the bed bugs. They showed me something for bed bugs, it is a

moso po mölõ 'frãs→ u metel ãbã ka'bãnnã↓ pü'nεzsaajo→ 34

piece of french melon skin, you put it under the bed. Those bed bugs

pa kõn bagaj kõ 'sa↓ m̩ dil a'ʃil→ po mö'lõ→ 35

don't know anything like that." I told him: "Achylle, melon skin

pu tut pü'nεzsajo↑ ʃak pünεzsajo se õ tò'tü↓ alò 36

for all those bugs? Each one of those bugs is a turtle." And so,

li löve but matlaa li mõtre 'mwẽ↓ li dim a wi 37

he lifted the edge of the mattress he showed me. He said: "Oh! yes,

mõ'ʃε→ se õ bagaj ãra'ʒe↓ li dim epi avεk 'sa→ se 38

my dear, it's a terrible thing." He said: "And, with that, it is

kote 'tu→ ki plẽ majẽ'gwẽ↓ ʃak majẽgwẽ ki ãtre 39

also a place that is full of mosquitoes. Each mosquitoe that enters

nã zò'rεju→ se õ 'djεt↓ se õ bagaj ãra'ʒe↓ u kõ'prãn↑ 40

into your ear is a jet. It's a terrible thing. Do you understand?

majẽgwẽ 'laa→ ap bau nã zò'rej↓ pünεz ap 41

Mosquitoes over there are giving it to you in (the) ears, bed bugs are

devorew ã'ba→ epi li di mõ'ʃɛ→ u pa kõn sa 42
devouring you below." Then he said: "My dear, you don't know what

li 'je↓ mũn bò isi pa netwaje la'trinjo↓ nãpwẽ 43
it is. People around here don't clean their latrines. There is no

kote gẽ latrin kõ 'sa↓ voje ʒew nã fönɛtla pu 44
(other) place there are so many latrines. Look in the window to

'we↓ mõ'ʃɛ→ ɱ voje zjöm nã fö'nɛtla→ ɱ wɛ de latrin ɱ 45
see." My dear, I looked through the window. I saw some latrines I

pa kõnẽ kũmã jo fɛ kãpe tu'ʒu↓ de kalite la'trin→ pãdã u 46
don't know how they could still stand. A type of latrines, while you

nã fö'nɛtla→ u gade la'trinjo→ gẽjẽ u wɛ 47
are in the window, you look at the latrines. There are some, you see

kòfla ap balãse su la'trinnã→ arẽ'jẽ→ u wɛ rat ap pa'se→ 48
the cover balancing over the latrine, spiders, you see rats going by,

ra'vɛt→ vjö papje ʒɥnal nã 'kwẽ→ labu dövã la'trinnã↓ 49
cockroaches, old newspapers in a corner, mud in front of the latrine.

aʃil 'di↓ bagajsajo u wɛ laa mõ'ʃɛ→ fabrikã 50
Achylle said: "Those things you see over there, my friend, makers of

pa'fœ̃→ si jo te gẽ õ bagaj kõ 'sa→ jo pa ta bözwẽ flœ 51
perfumes, if they had a thing like that, they would not need flowers

ã'kò↓ si jo te ka sɛvi a 'sa↓ si nu te ka vãn 'sa→ nu ta 52
anymore, if they could use that. If we could sell that, we would be

'riʃ↓ alò u gẽ pünɛzla nã dɛ'jɛɯ→ u gẽ majẽgwẽã 53
rich. So, you have the bed bug in your behind, you have the mosquitoe

nã zò'rɛjɯ→ lɛfini mõ'ʃɛ→ u gẽ õ sãt↓ u prã 54
in your ear, after that, my dear, you have a smell. Do you smell

sãtsaa 'laa↑ m̩ di 'wiii→ a'ʃil↓ li pa sãti 'bõ↓ 55
that smell there?". I said: "Yes, Achylle, it does not smell good".

aʃil dim mo'ʃɛ→ map römɛt u 'livjσ→ m̩ pa 56
Achylle said to me: "My dear, I am returning you the books. I don't

ẽvitew ʃi'ta↓ paskö liv u 'bãmnãjσ→ m̩ pa ka li 57
invite you to sit down. Because the books you gave me, I cannot read

bagajsajo i'sia↓ li di ebjẽ mõ'ʃɛ→ map diu 58
those things over here". He said: "Well my dear, I am telling you

õ ba'gaj→ lɛ õ nõm rete 'laa→ li pase kɛk tã li viv nã 59
something, when a man stays there, he spends some time, he lives in

ko'tesajσ→ lɛ pita u prã õ 'suf→ u kõ'prãn↑ u vin 60
those places, when later you get a break, you understand, you become

mi'nis→ ba'gajsajσ→ sa u di 'moj↓ mõ'ʃɛɛɛ→ 61
government minister, things like that, what do you say, Moy, my dear

u pa ãvi wɛ bagasajo ãkõ 'nõ↓ se pu sa jo 62
you don't feel like seeing those things anymore. It is why they

di ãpil nɛg ki mi'nis→ jo blije tut ba'gaj↓ jo pa 63
say, many guys who are ministers, they forget everything. They don't

tunẽ kote jo te re'te↓ mõʃɛ ɛsköw ka wɛm kòm mi'nis→ epi 64
return where they lived. My dear, can you see me as a minister, and

map tunẽ isit ã'kò↓ sò kote m̩ pa ta ʒãm tunẽ nã 'vim↓ 65
returning here again? It's a place I would never return in my life.

u mãde ki mal u 'fɛ→ mõʃɛ pu u re'te→ pu pase 66
You ask what evil you have done, my friend, for you to stay, to spend

kɛk tã nã 'viw→ nã õ kõte kõ 'sa↓ u kwɛ mũn ki 67
sometime in your life in such a place. Do you think that people who

ekri liv ka imaʒine õ mo'mã→ kö jõ nõm ki kõn 'li→ 68
write books can imagine for a moment, that a man who knows how to read,

kõ nõm ki ka pã'se→ ap rete ap viv 'la→ nã de bagaj kõ 'sa↑ 69
a man who can think, will stay and live there in that kind of things?

se puki ãpil 'nɛg→ lɛ u wɛ jo vin mi'nis→ ja'leee↓ jo 70
It is why many guys when they become ministers, they go away, they

vo'le↓ alò li dim 'bõ→ u pa kõn sal 'je↑ sepa 71
fly." Then he told me: "Well, you don't know what it is, it is not

mũn bòi'sijo→ kap edew sòti 'nõ↓ se tãku õ 72
the people around here who will help you to get out. It is like a

pãʃẽ 'krab↓ si u met trãt krab nã õ pã'ʃẽ→ 'mòj→ u pa 73
basket of crabs. If you put thirty crabs in a basket, Moy, you don't

bõzwẽ fɛmẽ pãʃẽã 'nõ↓ ʃak fwa jõn vle sò'ti→ lòtjo 74
need to close the basket. Each time one wants to get out, the others

ralel ã'tre↓ mẽ si u met jõ 'krab→ fò u fɛmẽ pã'ʃẽã 75
pull it back. But if you put one crab, you have to close the basket."

alò li 'di→ aʃil di 'mwẽ→ se u ki pu wete tɛtu 76
Then he said, Achylle told me: "It is you who have to get yourself

nã sa pu'kõtu↓ e li dim mõ'ʃɛ→ se sa ɲ 77
out of that all alone." And he told me: "My dear, it is what I am

pral 'fɛ↓ map degage 'mwẽ↓ pa'skõ→ se õ peji sudevlo'pe→ 78
going to do. I am managing. Because, it is an underdeveloped country

u pa ka ret nã opozi'sjõ↓ nã opozisjõ trò lo'tã→ 79
you cannot stay in the opposition. In the opposition (for) too long,

u ka muri 'tu→ sanato'rjòm↓ paskõ u pa nuri 'bjẽ↓ 80
you can also die (in the) sanatorium because you are not well fed.

pu fɛ opozi'sjõ→ fò u gẽ mwajẽ 'wi↓ nɛg bò ãwoa ki 81
To do opposition, you must have the means. The guy up there, who

ʃita ap fɛ opozi'sjõ→ mẽ se zõ ak ʒã'bõ→ li mãʒe lõma'tẽ↓ 82.
is sitting doing opposition, but, he eats ham and eggs in the morning.

u kõprãn↑ lap dòmi ak fãm sãti 'bõ↓ u kõprãn↑ 83
You understand? He sleeps with well-perfumed women. You understand?

li pa nã reʒjõ la'trin↓ dõk li ka ʃita nã opozi'sjõ↓ 84
He is not in a latrine area. Then, he can sit in the opposition

alŏ mŏj map kite 'sa→ m̩ römɛt u 'livjo→ 85

Then, Moy, I am leaving that. I return you the books.

alŏ mɛ'si↓ m̩ rögrɛt m̩ pa ka rösö'vwaw→ mĕ avă lŏ'tă→ make 86

Then, thanks, I regret I can't receive you. But before long, mark down

sa m̩ 'diwla→ map kapab rösö'vwaw→ e map rösövwaw 87

what I tell you, I will be able to receive you, and I will receive you

avɛk ple'zi↓ mɛsi ă'pil↓ 88

with pleasure. Thank you very much."

Comments

"Achylle" is a satire of Haitian socio-political life, and a caricature of poverty. In spite of his education, which the narrator seems to be trying to stress particularly by talking about the man's affection for books, the lawyer Achylle is compelled to live like a bum, and almost condemned to resign himself to his fate. The reader may wonder if Achylle is living in a society where there is no need for the services of a lawyer. He may also be led to deduce that Achylle belongs to a political or social minority whose members are outcasts, or perhaps, is an outsider in a caste society. Achylle, however, is just the victim of a corrupt political machine, with which he is anxious to compromise, and as soon as he reaches the compromise, he decides to forget his previous condition.

M.S. has affirmed to me that the character of Achylle is not fictional and that the man to whom he has given that name really existed. However, true or fictional, this type of anecdotes is one of the many ways Haitian Creole speakers get rid of some of their frustrations due to social stratification, the distribution of wealth, and the political machines. Those who are believed to be responsible for such situations are made the villains in stories, songs, popular refrains, proverb adaptations, etc. Observe also the plentiful details, characteristic of Haitian Creole style, that the narrator gives about the scenery, Achylle's neighborhood and surroundings, his attire, his gestures, etc. Metaphorical language is not neglected either. Notice, for example, line 36: "Each one of those bugs is a turtle". Lines 39 - 40: "Each mosquitoe is a jet". Lines 72 - 75: Achylle's use of the crab metaphore. Notice also the emphatic stresses attributed by the narrator, at lines 25, 26, 28, to Achylle, as well as the choice of vulgar words such as:

/bũn'da/	"behind, ass"
/ãra'ʒe/	"terrible, rabid"
/la'trin/	"toilet, latrines"
/'sãt/	"bad smell"

instead of less shocking

/dɛ'jɛ/ /te'rib/ /twa'lɛt/ /o'dœ/

that would cause a lesser impression. People of his education are not expected to use vulgar words, but he talks that way, to show that he is in rebellion against social conformity.

Achylle is very fluent in his speech, and anxious to express his indignation, so anxious that his discourse doesn't appear to be influenced by all the "yes" and "no" answers he triggers, about which he doesn't seem to care anyway, since he would continue talking no matter what answer he gets.

Additional information about typical Haitian life needs to be provided in order to understand a few more implications and some idioms. For example:

Line 1: locating Achylle's house on Saint-Honoré street is part of setting the poverty scenery.

Line 2,5: by /lü'tœ/ "fighter", the narrator means a man who tries very hard to survive economically.

Lines 3,4: the reference to the cup of coffee means that this was all he had for food during the whole day.

Line 21: the word /mõ'ʃɛ/ "my dear", found here and in other places, is a term used by the speaker to designate his interlocutor. In most contexts it is friendly. But sometimes it just means "you fellow". It has a feminine form /ma'ʃɛ/.

Line 68: Achylle's reference to "a man who knows how to read" really means "a man who is educated".

Line 80: /muri nã sanato'rjòm/ "die in a sanatorium" is euphemistic for:

/muri pwatri'nɛ/ "die of tuberculosis", a sickness that is viewed as a disgrace by many.

Line 81: /nɛg bò a'woa / "the fellow up there" is a reference to the influential people who live in beautiful villas in the mountains surrounding Port-au-Prince. The word /'nɛg/ besides meaning "negro," "black person", is more often used in the sense of "fellow", "guy". One may hear in Haiti:

/blãsaa se õ bõ 'nɛg/ "this white man is a nice fellow"

There are also the expressions:

/grâ 'nɛg /	"important personality"
/gro 'nɛg /	"strong person"

/blã/ "white" is often found with the sense of "foreigner" with no specific information about race.

Line 86: /m̩ pa ka rösö'vwaw+/ "I can't receive you" really means in the Haitian context: "I cannot entertain you, I cannot offer you to eat and to drink".

Text #3

Theophile

m̩ te gẽ õ zã'mi→ ki te rele tjo'fil↓ mẽ tjo'fil→ 'aas→ 1

I had a friend who was named Theophile. But Theophile, well...

sete õ 'nõm→ li pat sa've↓ 'mẽẽẽ→ tjo'fil→ li te kõn 2

was a man, he was not school-educated, but Theophile, he knew how to

tã'de→ li te kõn ga'de↓ e se õ pakɛt afɛ sa je 'wi↓ paskö 3

listen, he knew how to look. And it is a big thing this is. Because

u ka sa've→ epi u pa kõn fɛ dö ba'gajsajo↓ jõ fwa 4

you may be educated and not know how to do those two things. One time,

m̩ kãpe ak tjo'fil→ ãwo bu'dõ↓ tjofil gẽjẽ kutol 5

I was standing with Theophile, up in Bourdon. Theophile had his knife

nã 'rẽli→ pãtalõ 'blö→ li te sòt se'kle↓ 6

on his side, blue trousers. He had come from cutting weeds.

pãdã m̩ kãpe avɛk 'li→ gẽ õ mɛt ki ri've↓ tut 7

While I was standing with him, there was a lawyer who arrived, all

abije ã 'blã↓ ak ti talõ suljel bjẽ 'lõg↓ ti talõ 8

dressed in white, with his small heels long enough, small heels of

su'lje↓ 'mɛtla→ m̩ te kõ'nẽl→ li salẅem trɛ 'bjẽ↓ pwẽtü 9

shoes. The lawyer, I knew him, he saluted me very well. He pointed

bu∫li pul salẅe 'mwẽ→ li pa mẽm di tjofil bõ'ʒu→ 10

his mouth to salute me. He did not even say good morning to Theophile,

li pa mẽm gade 'li→ epi li 'dil→ ɛskö u kapab 'dim→ 11
he did not even look at him. And then he told him: "Can you tell me

ki bɔ̀ bɔ̀s djoʒɛn rete bɔ̀i'sia↓ mẽ tjo'fil→ ki õ 12
where Boss Diogenes lives around here." But, Theophile, who is an in-

nɔ̃m ẽteli'ʒã→ malgrel pa gẽ lespri 'liv→ tjofil 13
telligent man, although he does not have book intelligence, Theophile

di 'li→ bɔ̀s djo'ʒɛn↑ pas'kö→ mũn tãku tjo'fil→ jo 14
told him: "Boss Diogenes...?". Because, people like Theophile they

tãku fãm lɛ jap re'pɔ̃n↓ siw mãde ɔ̃ 'fãm kote 15
are like women when they are answering. If you ask a woman: "Where

u te je jɛ a katr 'oe↓ li pap ʒãm repɔ̃n 'u↓ lap repete 16
were you yesterday at four?", she will never answer. She will repeat

ke'sjɔ̃a→ lap 'diw→ kote m̩ te je jɛ a katr 'oe↑ 17
the question, she will say to you: "Where was I yesterday at four?"

se pul ka prã e'lãli→ pu sil bözwẽ mã'ti↓ alɔ̀ 18
It is for her to get her momentum in case that she needs to lie. Then

tjofil limẽm di 'li→ bɔ̀s djo'ʒɛn↑ ẽ'bẽ→ bɔ̀s djo'ʒɛn→ li 19
Theophile himself told him: "Boss Diogenes, well, Boss Diogenes, he

pa rete 'pre→ mẽ li pa ret lwẽ pu sa 'nɔ̃↓ 20
does not live close by, but he does not live far for that (either).

pu rive kaj djo'ʒɛn→ wa prã ti 'rutsaa↓ 21
In order to arrive at Diogenes' house you will take this small road.

fò m̩ diw ki ʒã pu a'le↓ wa maʃe pi devãã 'laa→ wa 22
I must tell you how to go. You will walk more ahead there, you will

wɛ õ tɛ 'tüf↓ õ tüf 'blã↓ wa ʒãbe tɛ 'tüfla→ loe 23
see a clay soil, a white clay, you will cross the clay soil. When

u ʒãbe tɛ 'tüfla→ wa ʒwẽn õ ga'lɛt↓ wa pase 24
you cross the clay soil, you will find a stone quarry, you will pass

ga'lɛtla↓ loe u pase ga'lɛtla→ wa ʒwẽn õ ʒu'mu→ 25
the stone quarry. When you pass the quarry, you will find a pumpkin

kap ku'ri→ su õ pje bwa'dòm↓ wa pase sa 'tu↓ pi devã u 26
crawling over an elm tree. You will pass that also. More ahead, you

va ʒwẽn õ bla'ji→ se õ bla'ji→ 27
will find a 'clothes bleaching stone-pad'; it is a stone-pad (belonging

sò tire'nja↓ ko'te→ li baj lòt mũn blaji rad la 'tu↓ 28
to) Sister Tirenia, where she lets other people dry clothes there too.

wa pase bla'jia↓ loe u pase bla'jia→ adwat 29
You will pass the bleaching pad. When you pass the pad, to the right

sulamẽ'gòʃ→ wa wɛ õ ti 'kaj↓ se kaj 30
on the left hand side, you will see a little house. It is the house

sò iz'mɛn↓ li nã õ kal'fu→ wa deröfüze kal'fua↓ 31
of Sister Ismene, it is in a corner. You will avoid the corner.

wap maʃe tigut pi de'vã→ wa kõtre õ gro pje ma'pu→ 32

You will walk a little more ahead, you will meet a big 'mapou' tree;

ãba pje ma'pua→ gẽ õ tõtõ jo rele sil'vẽ→ ki gẽ õ 33

under the 'mapou' tree, there is an old man named Sylvain, who has a

ʒava nã pje 'gòʃli↓ õ ʒava kap fɛ 'sòs↓ li ʃita su 34

sore in his left foot. A sore that is suppurating. He is sitting on

õ ʃɛz kra'ze→ ãba pje ma'pua↓ u pap wɛl 'nõ→ 35

a broken chair under the 'mapou' tree. You will not see him, surely,

pasköl muri döpɥi õ 'mwa↓ mẽ mũn ki pase bò 'la→ jo 36

because he died a month ago. But people who go through there, they

di silvẽ tuʒu ʃita ãba pje ma'pua↓ m̩ pa 37

say (that) Sylvain is still sitting under the 'mapou' tree. I don't

kõn afɛ 'mũn↓ lœ u pase gro pje ma'pua→ 38

know people's business. When you pass the big 'mapou' tree, (since)

bõʒu madãm pi bõ pase kõn la'rut→ wa wɛ plüzjœ 39

good morning madame is better than knowing the way, you will see several

fãm kãpe bò 'là→ kap trese 'pit→ di jo 40

women standing around there who are braiding sisal, say to them

bõ'ʒu↓ wa mãde 'jo→ mõtrew kaj bòs djo'ʒɛn↓ 41

'good morning', you will ask them to show you Boss Diogenes' house.

epi se tut 'wi↓ m̩sjöa di mɛ'si↓ li vire dol la'le↓ 42

And that's all". The man said thank you. He turned his back and left.

mwẽmẽm m̩ di tjo'fil→ rete 'nõ↓ sa u di m̩sjöa 43

Myself I said: "Theophile, come on! What did you tell the man

'laa↓ li di 'mwẽ→ mɛt mo'ris→ m̩ pa di m̩sjöa 44

there?" He said to me: "Mister Maurice, I did not tell the man

ã'jẽ↓ m̩sjöa rive laa ã pavijõ mas'ke→ li rive pa 45

anything. The man arrived here with a disguised flag, he arrived like

ʃal ga'lis→ li rive ãkatimi'ni→ m̩sjöa vi'ni→ ap mãde 46

Charles Galice, he arrived kind of secretly, the man arrived, asking

mwẽ pu bɔ̀s djo'ʒɛn↓ mũn ki di mẽ ku'lɛvla→ se 47

me for Boss Diogenes. The person who says 'here is the snake' it is

li ki tu'jel↓ m̩ pa kõn si se õ papje tẽ'bre→ li vin 48

he who kills it. I don't know if it is a legal warrant he has come

pote pu bɔ̀s djo'ʒɛn→ si se arete li vin are'tel↓ m̩ 49

to bring to Boss Diogenes, if it is that he has come to arrest him. I

pa ka mõtre m̩sjöa kaj bɔ̀s djo'ʒɛn↓ m̩ di 'bõ→ tjo'fil→ 50

cannot show the man Boss Diogenes' house." I said: "Well, Theophile,

kote bɔ̀s djoʒɛn re'te↓ li di i'sia→ dɛjɛ dowla 51

where does Boss Diogenes live?" He said: "Right here behind your back

'laa↓ kaj pɔ̀t blöaaa wap gade 'laa→ se 52

there, that house with the blue doors you are looking at there, it is

kaj bɔ̀s djo'ʒɛn↓ 53

Boss Diogenes' house."

Comments

Theophile's most outstanding traits are his mistrust of strangers, and the great importance he attaches to good manners. The peasant and the lawyer being members of two different groups, often stereotyped as those who wear blue trousers and those who dress in white, each could be expected to have his own pattern of behavior. The circumstances surrounding the linguistic exchange between the two tell us that we are in presence of a society plagued by rigid class distinctions, where each person seems to have his own place, where many people with white suits look down on those with blue trousers, and where the less fortunate mistrust those above them socially or politically, consider them as a threat, and consequently try to be protective of their own kind, while at the same time, those in white expect to be obeyed and served. According to all appearances, the lawyer could obtain the desired information only from Theophile, not from the narrator. However, he doesn't even look at the peasant when he talks to him, although he "pointed his mouth" to salute the narrator. The reader needs to be told here that "pointing the mouth" means that the lawyer used hyper-corrected Creole at that particular instance, while switching probably to an hypocorrected dialect when speaking to Theophile.

Theophile was obviously shocked at the realization that the man failed to say hello to him. In Haiti, above all among the rural population, greetings are extremely important. It is common knowledge over there, that if you ask someone for an information without first saluting him, you may be answered:

/ale mãde madã bõ'ʒu+/ "Go and ask Mrs. Good Morning"

Theophile taught a lesson in courtesy to the lawyer. His double-talk, his confusing explanations, his deliberate sarcasm, all is meant to culminate with the city-man being put in front of the ladies braiding sisal, and to the special recommendation:

/di jo bõ'ʒu+/ "Say hello to them"

In order maybe to sound more natural to his interlocutor, while keeping him at a distance as an outsider, Theophile used in talking to him, a style loaded with rural terms and references normally expected from a person of his condition, and that reaffirm his group membership at the same time. For example:

Lines 24, 25: /ga'lɛt/ Area full of river stones

Lines 25, 26: /ʒu'mu/ /bwa'dòm/ Popular trees in rural areas

Lines 27, 28, 29: /bla'ji / Stone pad used to bleach clothes

Line 31: /kal'fu / "Corner", instead of more urban /ka'fu/

Line 32: /deröfüze/ "Avoid", instead of /evi'te/

Line 32,33: /ma'pu/ Big tree, believed to house spirits

Line 32, 38: The reference to the ghost of the old man.

Lines 28, 31: /sò tire'nia//sò iz'mɛn/ Peasant women are often referred to as /'sò/ "sister", and Tirenia and Izmene are typical rural names.

Weaknesses in the lawyer's ability to understand well enough Theophile's linguistic code may have been responsible for his not realizing that a trick was being played on him. At the end, not even the narrator who witnessed the whole scene and seems to sympathize with the peasant, was sure that he had understood Theophile's motives.

In addition to the form /'sò/ found on lines 28 and 31 and that has already been explained, there are also:

Lines 7, 9: /'mɛt/

Used to designate or call people in the liberal professions, lawyers, teachers, notaries etc.

Lines 12, 14, 19 etc.: /bòs/

Used to designate handymen and tradesmen, such as carpenters, mechanics, masons, etc.

Line 33: /tõtõ/

Any old man, as well as uncle.

The following idioms or proverbs are found in Theophile's speech:

Line 39: /bõʒu madãm pi bõ pase kõn la'rut→/ Courtesy is more important than knowledge.

Line 45: /ã pavijõ mas'ke→/ Completely unknown

Line 46: /ʃal ga'lis→/

Reputedly, Charles Galice was a police-man who knew all secret ways at getting information.

Lines 47, 48: /mũn ki di mẽ ku'lɛvla→ se li ki tu'jel↓/

He who denunciates the accused is responsible for his fate.

Text #4

General Jean Jumeau

ʒeneral ʒă ʒu'mo→ te kõmădă larõdismă gona'jiv↓ li 1

General Jean Jumeau was the Commandant of Gonaives' District. He

te õ nõm bɛl'taj↓ da'bò→ tut mũn kõ'nẽ→ ʒeneral ʒă ʒu'mo→ se te 2

was a very tall man. First, everybody knows, General Jean Jumeau was

pitit pitit tusẽ luvɛtü ↓ puki jo relel ʒă 3

the grand-son of Toussaint Louverture. Why did they call him Jean

ʒu'mo→ se paskõ dõ frɛ te fɛt nă õ ka'fu↓ alò li 4

Jumeau, it is because two brothers were born in a corner. Then, he

rele 'ʒă→ ʒu'mo↓ jo di se pitit izaak li te'je↓ sepa te 5

was named Jean "twin". They say it is Isaac's son he was. He was not

õ nõm ki te sa've↓ setadi li pat plüm e 6

a man who was educated, that is to say, he was not (used to) pen and

'ak↓ mẽ lõse'ʃoe te bal ẽteli'ʒăs↓ li fɛ lõtă 7

ink. But, the Lord had given him intelligence. He spent a long time

kõmădă larõdis'mă↓ li pat soelmă õ sòl'da→ mẽ se 8

(as) Commandant of the District. He was not only a soldier, but it's

õ papa li te je pu popüla'sjõa→ li te õ doktoe pu popüla'sjõă→ 9

a father he was for the population. He was a doctor for the population.

li te õ ügă pu popüla'sjõă↓ li te kõn tut 'foej→ li te kõn 10

He was a vodoo priest for the population. He knew all leaves, he knew

tut rõmɛd ki gẽ'ʃẽ↓ se pu'ki→ nã ãpil ba'gaj kõ 11
all medicines that exist. That's why, among the many things that

grãn rakõte 'mwẽ→ lòt grãmun rakõ'tem→ m̩ kõn ãpil ti 12
grand-mother told me, other old people told me, I know several little

rõ'mɛd kõ ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo ki'te↓ 13
medicines that General Jean Jumeau left.

ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo tuʒu kõside're→ tut prezidã daiti 14
General Jean Jumeau always considered all Presidents of Haiti

kòm kõ'pɛli↓ li relejo kõ'pɛ→ paskõ jo bõzwẽl 15
as his "comperes". He called them "comperes" because they needed him

'tu↓ jo kõnẽ kak ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo nã latibo'nit→ 16
too. They knew that with General Jean Jumeau in the Artibonite, (the)

peji 'frɛt↓ jo kõnẽ se õ mũn dõ kõfjãs jo kite 17
country (was) quiet. They knew it was a person of confidence they left

'la↓
there.

a'lò→ su flòvil→ gẽ õ bagaj ki 19
Then, under Florville's (government) there was something that

pa'se↓ tru've→ guvɛnmã ã'gle→ võje o ba'to→ reklame 20
happened. It happened that the English government sent a ship to ask

pu flò'vil→ peje õ la'ʒã→ pu jõ ãglɛ jo te are'te↓ 21
that Florville paid money for an Englishman they had arrested.

e batodgɛa te nã 'radla↓ jo di 'kö̆→ si flòvil 22

And the man of war was in the harbor. They said that if Florville

aksep'te→ sepul mõte pavijõ 'blã↓ bagajla diskü'te→ flòvil 23

accepts, he must fly a white flag. The thing was discussed, Florville

wɛ li pa ka fɛ ãjẽ kõt la'fòs→ pòt ãbwa pa gumẽ 24

saw he could not do anything against force, wooden pot does not fight

ak pòt ã'fɛ→ flọ̀vil mõte õ pavijõ 'blã↓ jo pretãn mẽm se te 25

with iron pot, Florville flew a white flag. They even pretend it was

õ 'nap→ kote prezidãǎ te fin mã'ʒe→ pẅiskö li te 26

a table cloth, where the President had finished to eat, since it was

plẽ tãʃ pwa 'ruʒ→ pavijõ blã li mõte nã ma pa'lɛa↓ 27

full of red bean stains, the white flag he flew in the palace's pole.

presidãa pe'je→ laʒã jo te mã'dea↓ 28

The President paid the money they had asked.

loe ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo tãde nuvɛlla gona'jiv→ 'a→ li 29

When General Jean Jumeau heard the news (in) Gonaives, ah! he was

ve'kse↓ paskö̆→ ʒã ʒumo pat kõn bese pavijõl dövã 30

insulted, because Jean Jumeau didn't use to lower his flag in front of

'mü̃n↓ sete õ nõm brav ã'pil↓ 'mẽ→ li kõprãn 'kaa→ sɛtẽ 31

people. He was a very brave man. But he understood the case. Some

'loe→ sa pu 'fɛ↓ ʒwɛtla di sepu ku'pe→ u ku'pe↓ mẽ 32

times, what can you do? The game says you must ruff, you ruff. But,

lœ ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo fɛ dö twa ʒu vekse la'kajli→ li 33
when General Jean Jumeau spent two or three days mad in his home, he

sò'ti→ pul mãjɛ sãti 'villa→ ma'ʃe→ rakõte ko'zea↓ sa 34
went out, to kind of feel the city, to walk, to tell the story. That

pa 'kõtli↓ ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo mete tãbu dö'jò↓ 35
(was) not enough for him. General Jean Jumeau ordered (the) drums out.

li fɛ sòti õ püblika'sjõ→ ak kle'rõ→ li mãde pu tut 36
He had a proclamation published, with bugle, he asked for all the pop-

populasjõa reüni su plasdam gona'jiv↓ ãfas le'gliz↓ 37
ulation to meet at Gonaives' parade grounds, in front of (the) church.

publikasjõã 'di→ tut mün gẽ pu reü'ni↓ mẽm koko'be→ te gẽ 38
The proclamation said (that) everybody had to meet. Even invalids had

pu sò'ti→ li pa vle pɛsõn ret ãndã↓ tut mün gẽ pu vin 39
to go out. He did not want anybody to stay in. Everybody had to come

tãde 'li→ di'mãʃ→ õʒ œ düma'tẽ↓ ti'mün→ 40
to listen to him, on Sunday, eleven o'clock in the morning. Children,

grã'mun→ tut mün nã 'villa→ dɛnje kaj gẽ pu 'vid↓ e 41
adults, all the people in the city, every house had to be empty. And

lœ ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo pa'le→ li pa rã'se↓ kòm u tã'dea→ 42
when General Jean Jumeau spoke, he didn't kid around. As you heard,

dɛnje 'mün→ mẽm mün ki te kõmãse kWit mã'ʒejo→ ba'gaj→ 43
everybody, even the people who had began to cook their food, things,

pul te nã dü'fõ→ jo brote reʃojo bɔ 'plasla→ 44

chicken was on the fire, they carried their stoves close the grounds

pu kõtinWe kWit mã'ʒejo↓ mẽ dɛnje mũn gẽ pu ale 'la↓ 45

(so) to continue cooking their food. But everybody had to go there.

ʒeneral ʒã mõte su lotɛl lapa'tria→ su 'kjɔsla→ 46

General Jean climbed on the "altar of the fatherland", on the stand.

li 'lõõõg→ su 'kjɔsla nã õ kostüm 'blã↓ sɔlda ap ale 47

He was tall on the stand, in a white suit. Soldiers were going (and)

vini nãmitã mũnjo 'laa→ kalme tut 'mũn→ ap di jo se te 48

coming among the people there, calming everybody, telling them it was

õ pa'rɔl→ õ me'saʒ→ ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo pral 'baj↓ nã õ 49

a speech, a message, General Jean Jumeau was going to deliver. In a

mo'mã→ ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo luvri dö 'brali→ li mãde pu tut mũn 50

moment, General Jean Jumeau opened his two arms, he asked for everybody

pɛ 'djɔljo↓ dɛnje mũn 'pe→ u pa tãde õ ti 51

to shut their mouth. Everybody shut-up. You did not hear any little

'bwi↓ si õ ʒepẽg te tõbe 'la→ u ta ka tã'del↓ alɔ mẽ sa 52

noise. If a pin fell there, you could hear it. Thus, here is what

ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo di popüla'sjõã↓ li di mezã'mi→ nu 53

General Jean Jumeau told the population. He said: "My friends, you

tut kõnẽ sak pase kõ'pɛm→ pɔto'prẽs↓ kõ'pɛm→ 54

all know what happened to my 'compere' in Port-au-Prince. My 'compere'

ʒeneral flò'vil→ sepa õ nõm ki poe 'mũn→ nu kõnẽ 55

General Florville, he is not a man who is afraid of people, you know

jo relel ma'bial↓ 'mẽ→ gẽ de 'lœ→ u bliʒe 56

people call him the tough one. But there are times, you are obliged to

vale lò'gɛju↓ u bliʒe buʃe 'nẽw→ pu bwɛ dlo sã'ti↓ 57

swallow your pride, you must cover your nose to drink smelly water.

sak ri've→ gẽ õ 'fãm→ ki gẽ õ radijɛs mele ak õ grẽn 58

What happened, there is a woman who has an audacity mixed with such an

pɛ'mɛt→ jõ fãm jo rele mãzɛ rɛn vikto'rja→ ki voje õ bato dõ 59

effrontery, a woman they call Miss Queen Victoria, who sent a ship of

'gɛ→ mönase kõ'pɛmwẽ→ nã rad pòto'prẽs↓ nu tut kõnẽ 60

war to threaten my 'compere' in Port-au-Prince harbor. You all know,

mwẽ'mẽm→ kote m̩ kõmã'de→ fãm sepu bese 'tɛtu↓ sim te ka 61

myself, where I command, woman, you must lower your head. If I could

ʒwẽn 'fãmsaa→ m̩ ta kale bũndal bjẽ ka'le↓ 'mẽ→ se õ fãm 62

find that woman, I would really spank her behind. But it is a woman

ki kõmãde õ kote nã peji ã'gle↓ dabò jo se 63

who commands a place in (the) English country. First of all, they are

õ bãn mũn pa se'rjõ↓ pu jo kite se jõ mũn→ ki biʒe 64

a lot of worthless people, to allow that it is a person who is obliged

bese pul fɛ tWa'lɛtli→ kap kòmã'dejo↓ se pa õ 65

to crawl down to do her toilet, who is commanding them. That is not a

bagaj se'rjö↓ alò fãmsaa kõ'prãn→ kotel ʃi'taa→ 66

responsible thing. Well, that woman thinks that where she is sitting,

li ka prõmẽnẽ kòmãde dɛnje 'mũn↓ ẽbẽ li nã le'rœ↓ paskö 67

she can go around commanding everybody. Well, she is in error, since

nu pa pɛmɛt 'sa↓ kö dɛnje mũn dwel res'pe→ se sal 68

we don't allow that. That everybody owes her respect, it is what she

'kwɛ↓ mẽ m̩ pral bal 'prœv→ kö bò i'sit→ nu pa 69

believes. But I am going to give her a proof that over here, we don't

respekte ò 'fãm→ ki pɛdü 'ròlli↓ mwẽ'mẽm→ m̩ pral vãʒe 70

respect a woman who has lost her place. Myself, I am going to avenge

kõ'pɛm↓ alò m̩ rele nu 'laa→ mẽ sa m̩ pral 71

my compere. Then, I have called you there, here is what I am going

mãde nu 'fɛ→ tut mũn ã'sãm→ pral repete avɛk 'mwẽ→ ak 72

to ask you to do. Everybody together is going to repeat with me, with

tut gòʒjo lu'vri→ tut dãjo lu'vri→ tut djòljo lu'vri↓ 73

all their throats open, all their teeth open, all their mouths open,

nu pa gẽ ãʃẽ pun 'pœ→ se mwẽ ki kõmãde i'si↓ pa gẽ 74

you have nothing for you to fear, it's I who command here, there is no

fãm ki kõmãde i'si↓ nu pral luvri 'djòlnu→ pu nu rele avɛk 75

woman who leads here, you are going to open your mouths, to yell with

'mwẽ→ sɛt 'fwa↓ nu pral ʒure mãmã rɛn vikto'rja→ sɛt 76

me, seven times, you are going to curse Queen Victoria's mother seven 'fwa↓ 77

times."

epi u tãde tut popüla'sjõã→ kap ʒurɛ mãmã rɛn viktorja 78

Then you heard all the population cursing Queen Victoria's mother

set 'fwa↓ alð ʒeneral ʒã ʒumo 'di→ mezã'mi→ nu 79

seven times. Then General Jean Jumeau said: "My friends, we have

vãʒe kõ'pɛm↓ 80

avenged my compere."

Comments

General Jean-Jumeau really existed and is found as the main character in numerous stories, in which he is always painted as a man of great courage. The fact reported by the narrator that he was the grandson of Toussaint Louverture would not be without having the sure effect of captivating the immediate attention of his audience, since Haitians show the greatest respect for the heroes of their independence. Describing him also as very intelligent, although not formally educated, is again a sign of admiration. That he was the vodoo - priest of the population also has its importance. In that time, as well as today, especially in the rural areas, somebody who is believed to have control over certain forces of vodoo is respected, if not feared. Jean-Jumeau's knowledge of the medical virtues of many plants could have been transmitted to him by family tradition, since his grandfather, Toussaint Louverture, is reputed to have been very familiar with such practices.

Jean-Jumeau's style of vengeance, after the abusive conduct of the British, gives an example of what I believe to be a very typical feature of the personality of the Haitian, that is, a tendency, when he feels defeated and defenseless, to talk as loud as he can, and to compensate with linguistic outbursts, for what his weakness does not allow him to do. I think that some psychological features of the Haitian push him very hardly, toward getting some relief from his frustrations, by speaking out loudly. Not only does Jean-Jumeau behave in that manner, but he also chooses to do it with some not very polite words, which most Haitians are likely to use when they are mad. For example:

Line 51	/pe 'djɔ̀l/	"to shut-up"
Line 62	/bũn'da/	"ass"
Lines 73, 75	/djɔ̀l/	"mouth of an animal"
Line 76	/ʒure mãmã/	"curse the mother", etc.

There were many more vulgarities in Jean-Jumeau's speech: I edited them out.

The relationship that exists between Jean-Jumeau and the President is stressed by the repetition of the word /kɔ̃'pɛ/ seven times on lines 15, 54, 60, 71 and 80. Haitians designate with that word the god-father of their child, or the man of whose child they are god-fathers. Also, the god-father is a /kɔ̃'pɛ/ to the god-mother. In weddings the best man is the /kõ'pɛ/ of the maid of honor. The feminine counterpart of /kõ'pɛ/ is /kõ'mɛ/. By extension both words mean "dear friend". Jean-Jumeau's ability to call all Presidents his /kɔ̃'pɛ/ is a measure of his close friendship with them.

This is not reported by the narrator, but after I had read the anecdote to my informants A. B. and E.B. who are familiar with life in the rural areas of Haiti, they called my attention to the fact that proclamations like the one mentioned on line 36, were still being used until not long ago in towns of the interior, and are drafted in French, not in Creole. A.B. reported that the last time he witnessed the reading of one such proclamation was in 1952, in the town of Miragoane, not far from Port-au-Prince. After the messenger had stopped at a street corner to read the document, numerous people turned around to ask those who knew French for the content of the message. This is another consequence of Haitian diglossia. It is then possible, that both the proclamation and the speech attributed to Jean-Jumeau were in French. However, if the General was not reading from a written text, and if he was really mad and upset, it is more likely that he spoke in Creole. As a matter of fact, Haitians don't normally say vulgarities in French.

The following idioms and proverbs are found in the story:

Line 6 - 7 /li pat plũm e 'ãk↓/

Literally "he was not pen and ink", means that he was not school-educated.

Line 17 /peji ' frɛt↓/

Is said to mean that everything is quiet.

Line 24 /pɔ̃t ãbwa pa gumẽ ak pɔ̃t ã'fɛ↓/

The stronger one imposes his way.

Line 57 /buʃe nẽw pu bwɛ dlo sã'ti↓/

One must make sacrifices, if he needs the result.

Text #5

"Maitre" Acolas Dorneval

akola dõne'val→te õ nõm ki te gẽ õ blã∫isri ãba la'lü↓ 'mẽ→ 1

Acolas Dorneval was a man who had a laundry down Lalue. But the

mɛtla te mũn gona'jiv↓ se pa te õ nõm kite tãku tut 'mũn↓ 2

"Maitre" was from Gonaives. He was not a man who was like everybody.

depil luvri 'bu∫li→ fõ u ∫ita tã'de↓ osi kre'jõl→ 3

As soon as he opened his mouth, you had to sit and listen. So, Creole

se õ lãg li te kõn pa'le→ dapre mwẽ'mẽm→ pi bjẽ pase 4

is a language he knew how to speak, according to myself, better than

tut 'mũn↓ mɛtla te õ nõm 'tu→ tut sal 'di→ 5

everybody. The "Maitre" was (such) a man too, everything he said

se bagaj pu u repa'se→ e tu sal 'di→ se bagaj 6

was a thing for you to think over, and everything he said, was a thing

ki ka fɛw 'ri↓ 'mẽ→ limẽm li pa ʒãm 'ri↓ m̩ te kõn 7

that can make you laugh. But himself, he never laughed. I used to

pase wɛl su'vã→ paskõ se zãmi papam li te 'je↓ e 8

stop to see him often, because it's a friend of my father he was. And

'mũnsajo→ lamitje pu 'jo→ te õ ba'gaj→ ki te vle di ãpil 9

those people, friendship for them was something that meant a lot of

ba'gaj↓ jo pat ʒwe ak 'sa↓ pitit zã'mijo→ 10

things. They did not play with that. The children of their friends

se te pi'titjo↓ 11
were their children.

ȭ ʒu mal wɛ mɛt akola la'kajli→ epi midi 12
One day I went to see "Maitre" Acolas at his place, and then noon

sũprãn mwẽ 'la↓ li dim kõ 'sa→ mo'ris→ wape gute 13
surprised me there. He told me like this: "Maurice, will you taste

kiʃoj ak 'mwẽ↑ m̩ di ẽ'bẽẽẽ→ li di mẽ 'nõ↓ sa va 14
something with me?" I said: "Well...!" He said: "Oh No! That will

fɛm ple'zi↓ gute kɛkʃòz ak 'mwẽ↓ li rãʒe ku'vɛmwẽ→ 15
please me. Taste something with me". He fixed up my table-setting,

rale õ ʃɛz bò 'tabla→ fɛm ʃi'ta↓ pãda nu ʃi'ta→ 16
pulled a chair near the table, had me sit-down. While we were sitting,

gẽ õ ʒœndòm ki fɛ sa li pa'rɛt→ li pa'rɛt→ epi 17
there was a young man who just happened to appear. He appeared and

li 'di→ bõʒu mɛt ako'la↓ akola leve 'tɛtli→ li 18
he said: "Good morning, Maitre Acolas. Acolas raised his head, he

ga'del→ li di 'o→ bòs le'nò↓ a→ kũmã sa 'je↓ 19
looked at him, he said: "Oh! "Boss" Lenor, well! How is it going?"

m̩ la 'wi→ mɛt ako'la↓ li di 'li→ kote u 20
____ "I am there, Maitre Acolas. He said to him: "Where are you

pra'le↓ li di se umẽm m̩ te vin wɛ 'wi↓ u te vin wɛ 21
going?" He said: "It is you that I came to see!"___"You came to see

'mwẽ↑ ma'tẽã→ lɛ m̩ te kãpe su ʃan'masla→ u te wɛ 22

me? This morning when I was standing on the parade grounds, you saw

'mwẽ↑ li di 'o→ m̩ te wɛw mɛt ako'la→ mẽ u tap pale 23

me?" He said: "Well, I saw you Maitre Acolas, but you were talking

ak 'mũn↓ sepa lüzaʒ pum truve mãtre nã pa'rɔ̀lu→ 24

to people. It's not correct for me to happen to enter in your talk,

epi pum kupe pa'rɔ̀lu↓ m̩ te wɛ 'u↓ m̩ pa'se→ m̩ 25

thus for me, to interrupt your conversation. I saw you, I passed, I

di bɔ̃'ʒu↓ kũn'jea→ m̩ 'vin→ m̩ vin prã nu'vɛlu↓ akola di 26

said hello. Now I have come, come to inquire about you." Acolas said:

e saw po'te↓ li di 'a→ mɛt akola ap mãdem 27

"And what do you bring?" He said: "Well, 'Maitre' Acolas is asking me

sam po'te↓ m̩ pa pot ã'ɟẽ↓ m̩ te pase sœlmã 'wɛw↓ 28

what I brought, I have not brought anything. I just passed to see you."

akola di 'a→ u pa po'te↑ u vin ʃɛ'ʃe↓ akola 29

Acolas said: "Ah! You didn't bring, you came to get," Acolas

di ẽ'bẽ→ lenɔ̀→ nu pral dekupe kɛkʃɔ̀z 'laa↓ m̩ pap 30

said: "Well, Lenor, we are going to cut something here. I will not

mãdew si u ape patisi'pe→ pẅiskö m̩ bjẽ wɛ kö se pa 31

ask you if you are participating, since I well see that it is not

'lœu↓ li midi ʒã'be↓ si se te 'lœw→ u ta la'kaju↓ 32

your time. It's passed noon. If it were your time, you would be home."

'a→ mɛt ako'la→ si u ta dim mẽ õ ba'gaj→ paskö 33
"Well! 'Maitre' Acolas, if you would tell me here is something, because

õ plat mãʒe pa ã'ɟẽ↓ si u ta dim mẽ õ ba'gaj→ 34
a plate of food is nothing. If you would tell me here is something,

m̩ pa ta diw 'nõ↓ 'aaa→ gẽ lœ wap fe'bli↓ 35
I would not say no to you." __ "Ah! It seems that you are weakening."

'a→ mɛt ako'la↓ ẽ'bẽ→ rale ʃɛzla epi ʃi'ta↓ 36
__ Ah! 'Maitre' Acolas." __ "Well then, pull up the chair and sit down"

lenõ rale ʃɛzla→ li ʃi'ta↓ akola dil kõ 'sa→ apa 37
Lenor pulled the chair, he sat. Acolas said to him: "Isn't it that

u pa di m̩sjöa bõ'ʒu↓ lœ mãtre 'laa→ m̩ di 38
you did not say hello to the gentleman." __ "When I came here, I said

bõʒu pu tut 'mũn↓ m̩ di bõʒu 'wi↓ li di gẽ lœ 39
hello to everybody. I sure said hello." He said: "It seems (that)

u pa kõn m̩'sjöa↓ li di→ m̩ pa ka 'di→ m̩ kõn m̩'sjöa→ 40
you don't know the man." He said: "I cannot say that I know the man,

m̩ rökonɛt 'li→ paskö m̩ kõ'nẽ→ m̩sjöa dwe pa kõnẽm mwẽ'mẽm→ mẽ 41
I recognize him, because I know, the man may not know me myself, but

m̩ kõnẽ li se m̩sjö mo'ris↓ pitit ẽʒe'njœa↓ 'a→ u kõn tut 42
I know he is Mr. Maurice, the engineer's son." __ "Ah! You know all

grã 'nɛg→ mõ'ʃɛ↓ 43
important people, my dear."

pãdã lenɔ̀ ap di 'saa→ gẽ õ fi ki ri've→ avɛk 44

While Lenor was saying that, there was a girl who arrived with

jõ bɔ̀l ki gẽ bulɛt la'dãl→ bulɛt 'viãn↓ li mete bolla su 45

a bowl that had meat balls in it, meat balls. She put the bowl on

'tabla↓ akola di bɔ̀s le'nɔ̀→ u mãʒe bu'lɛt↑ 'o→ 46

the table. Acolas said: "Boss Lenor, do you eat meat balls?" __ "Oh,

m̩ mãʒe tut bagaj 'wi→ mɛt ako'la↓ malörö pa gẽ ãʃẽ jo 47

I eat everything, 'Maitre' Acolas. Poor people don't have anything they

pa mã'ʒe→ döpẅi sepa gaz a sa'võ↓ sepu u mãʒe 48

don't eat, as long as it is not kerosene and soap, you have to eat

tut ba'gaj↓ malörö pa gẽ dwa ʃwazi mã'ʒe↓ jo 49

everything. Poor people don't have the right to choose food." They

rïve kũn'jea→ ak õ plat dü'ri→ epi õ gro bɔ̀l plẽ pwa ruʒ 'ʃo↓ 50

arrived now with a plate of rice and a big bowl full of hot red beans.

lafümẽ ap sɔ̀t la'dãli→ li 'di→ ẽ'bẽ→ le'nɔ̀→ kɔ̀mãse 51

Smoke was getting out of it. He said: "Well, then, Lenor, start to

bu'le↓ lenɔ̀ prã plat bu'lɛtla→ lenɔ̀ mete 'jõn→ 'dö→ 'twa→ 52

work out." Lenor took the meat ball plate, Lenor put one, two, three

kat bu'lɛt↓ akola di 'li→ map retew la 'wi→ lenɔ̀↓ 53

four meat balls. Acolas told him: "I am stopping you there, Lenor,

pa'skö→ gẽ lɛ bulɛt se õ bagaj u pa fin 54

because it seems (that) meat balls are a thing you don't completely

ra'ji↓ li di 'o→ se õ bagaj m̩ tuʒu rẽmẽ 'wi↓ akola 'di→ 55
hate." He said: "Oh, it is something I always liked." Acolas said:

ẽbẽ'bõ→ loe u rẽmẽ 'sa→ u mãʒel ãpil la'kaju↓ u pa ka 56
"Well then, when you like that, you eat it a lot at home. You cannot

mãʒel ãpil döjò 'nõ↓ kũl'jea→ prã dü'ria↓ lenò prã bol dü'ria→ 57
eat it a lot outside. Now take the rice." Lenor took the rice bowl.

lenò ap mete kẅijɛ dü'ri↓ mõtaɲ düri lenò ap mõ'te↓ 58
Lenor was putting rice spoons, Lenor's mountain of rice was rising.

akola 'di→ lenò m̩ retew ãkò 'wi→ nã dü'ria↓ kòm u 'di→ u 59
Acolas said: "Lenor, I stop you again in the rice. As you said, you

se õ nõm ki rẽmẽ tut ba'gaj↓ m̩ retew 'la→ paskö gẽ 60
are a man who likes everything. I stop you there, because there are

kɛk timün nã la'ku→ kap tãn rɛs düria 61
some children in the yard, who are waiting for the rest of the rice to

tu'nẽ↓ u pa te su lisnu nõ ʒo'dia↓ fò u sõʒe sa 'tu↓ 62
return. You were not on our list today. You must remember that too.

kũnjea ruze afɛw 'laa→ avɛk jõ dlo 'pwa→ pu prã 63
Now water your thing there, with some watery beans, in order to take

swẽ kõmi'sjõw→ epi pu nu ãtre nã ba'taj↓ 64
care of your business, and for us to enter in the battle."

lenò kòmãse mã'ʒe→ akola 'di→ bõ le'nò→ u nã 65
Lenor began to eat. Acolas said: "Well Lenor, you are in the

travaj bulãʒria tu'ʒu↑ m̩ pa 'wɛ→ fãmua pase ak jõ kãtite 66
bakery job still? Didn't I see your woman passing by with a lot of

'zö↑ õ kãtite dü'ri↑ li di 'a→ mɛt ako'la→ zö a 67
eggs, a lot of rice?" He said: "Well, 'Maitre Acolas,' the eggs and

dü'ri→ sejmẽn pa'sea→ se bagaj fãmil voje 68
the rice Ceymen passed by (with), are things her relatives have sent

ba li 'wi↓ se pa bagaj lal aʃ'te↓ travaj bulãʒria 'mẽm→ 69
to her. These are not things she went to buy. The bakery job itself

se sa mẽm m̩ te vin 'diw↓ ki sa u te vin di mwẽ 70
is exactly what I came to tell you." __ "What did you come to tell me,

le'nð↓ u pa dim se õ bõ tra'vaj↑ kö u travaj ʒüska 71
Lenor? Didn't you say to me it was a good job, that you work up to

katr œ düma'tẽ→ wal nã travaju lö'swa→ a nö'vœ→ 72
four o'clock in the morning, you go to work at night, at nine o'clock?

laʒunẽ u 'lib→ u fɛ ti bagaj la'kaju→ kɛk bagaj 73
During the day you are free, you do little things at home, somethings

kõ 'sa→ 'bo→ sa u te vin 'dim↓ li di ẽ'bẽ→ 74
like that. Well, what did you come to tell me?" He said: "Well then,

mɛt ako'la→ se 'sa↓ se lœa ki ẽ'dü↓ se õ move 'lœ↓ 75
'Maitre' Acolas, that's it, it's the time that is bad, it is a bad time

sa u rele lœ ẽ'düa↓ a növ œ dü'swa→ wal 76
__ "What do you call a bad time? At nine o'clock at night, you go

nã tra'vaj→ jõ travaj bulã'ʒri→ jo pejew 'bjẽ→ loe u pra'[illegible]→ u 77

to work, a bakery job, they pay you well, when you are leaving you

ʒwẽn 'pat→u ʒwẽn bi'sɥit→ u ʒwẽn pẽ pu pot la'kaju↓ sa li 'je↓ 78

find dough, you find biscuits, you find bread to take home, what is it?

lenò sak ri've↓ li di ẽbẽ mɛt ako'la→ mẽ 79

Lenor, what is happening?" He said: "Well, 'Maitre Acolas', here is

sal 'je→ paskö tut bagaj gẽ õ bagaj lã'dãl↓ u kõ'nẽ→ kote 80

what it is, because everything has something in it. You know, where

ɱ re'tea→ se bò mulẽ'vã↓ gẽjẽ õ pakɛt ʒɑ̃ẽnʒã 81

I live is close to the wind mill area. There are a lot of young guys

ki ret bò la 'tu↓ alò ti zɑ̃ẽn'ʒãsajo→ lɛ jo tut 82

who also live around there. Well, those young guys, when they are all

kã'pe→ epi map pa'se→ jap pa'le→ ɱ tãde 'jo↓ pas'kö→ 83

standing, and I am going by, they are talking, I hear them. Because,

peʃoe latɛ dö bra balã'se→ jo pa bõ 'nõ↓ lɛ 84

sinners of the earth with two hanging arms, they are no good. When

map pa'se→ jap pale õ pati ko'ze→ jap di kö o 85

I go by, they are talking a lot of things, they are saying that, oh

'wi→ nã rẽmẽ la'ʒa→ nã rẽmẽ travaj lö'swa→ se 86

yes, because of loving money, because of loving to work at night, it is

kõ sa jap wɛte fãmmã nã 'mẽmwẽ↓ a le'nò→ 87

like that they will take the woman away from my hands."__"Ah, Lenor,

nã tra'vaj→ jõ travaj bulã'ʒri→ jo pejew 'bjẽ→ lœ u pra'le→ u 77

to work, a bakery job, they pay you well, when you are leaving you

ʒwẽn 'pat→u ʒwẽn bi'sɥit→ u ʒwẽn pẽ pu pot la'kaju↓ sa li 'je↓ 78

find dough, you find biscuits, you find bread to take home, what is it?

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Lenor, what is happening?" He said: "Well, 'Maitre Acolas', here is

sal 'je→ paskõ tut bagaj gẽ õ bagaj lã'dãl↓ u kõ'nẽ→ kote 80

what it is, because everything has something in it. You know, where

m̥ re'tea→ se bò mulẽ'vã↓ gẽjẽ õ pakɛt ʒœ̃nʒã 81

I live is close to the wind mill area. There are a lot of young guys

ki ret bò la 'tu↓ alò ti zœ̃n'ʒãsajo→ lɛ jo tut 82

who also live around there. Well, those young guys, when they are all

kã'pe→ epi map pa'se→ jap pa'le→ m̥ tãde 'jo↓ pas'kõ→ 83

standing, and I am going by, they are talking, I hear them. Because,

peʃœ latɛ dõ bra balã'se→ jo pa bõ 'nõ↓ lɛ 84

sinners of the earth with two hanging arms, they are no good. When

map pa'se→ jap pale õ pati ko'ze→ jap di kõ o 85

I go by, they are talking a lot of things, they are saying that, oh

'wi→ nã rẽmẽ la'ʒa→ nã rẽmẽ travaj lõ'swa→ se 86

yes, because of loving money, because of loving to work at night, it is

kõ sa jap wɛte fãmnã nã 'mẽmwẽ↓ a le'nò→ 87

like that they will take the woman away from my hands."__"Ah, Lenor,

mẽ le'nò→ kimũn ki pral wete fãmu nã 'mẽw↓ ki 88

come on Lenor, who is going to take your woman from you hands? What

bagaj 'sa↓ sa li 'jeee↓ ẽbẽ mɛt ako'la→ fò u pa fɛ 89

thing is that? What is it?" __ "Well, 'Maitre Acolas,' you must not make

zòreju pi lõg pase ˈtɛt↓ pa'skö→ gẽ õ paròl ki di kõ 90

your ears longer than (your) head. For, there is a say that says like

'sa→ sa buʃ 'di→ se nã koe li sòti↓ loe jo 91

this: what (the) mouth says it's from (the) heart it comes. While they

ap pa'le→ u wɛ jo di sa jo 'dia→ se paskö jo 92

are talking, you see they say what they say, it is because they have

deʒa fikse sa pu jo fɛ 'wi↓ ẽbẽ→ male wɛ mɛt bulã'ʒria→ 93

already decided what to do. Well, I went to see the bakery's owner,

m̩ pale ak 'li↓ m̩ dil puɫ bãm õ travaj dö 'ʒu↓ li di travaj dö 'ʒu→ 94

I spoke to him. I told him to give me a day job. He said a day job

li pa gẽ'jẽ↓ paskö m̩ pa ka kite fãmnã kõ sa 'laa→ 95

he didn't have. Because I cannot leave the woman like that, there,

nã mẽ vaka'bõ↓ vakabõ su'pje→ epi m̩ le'se→ male 96

in hoodlums' hands. The hoodlums are standing and I leave, go (to)

travaj dö növoe a katroe düma'tẽ↓ li di bõ rete lènò→ 97

work from nine to four in the morning". He said: "Well now, Lenor,

map diw ki'ʃòj↓ u pa kõn sak pral rive 98

I am telling you something. Don't you know what is going to happen

'u↑ ɛskö u lese tra'vajla↓ m̩ pa kite tra'vajla↓ 99

to you? Is it that you have left the job?"__"I have not left the job.

'mẽ→ m̩ kòm ap refleʃi sa pum 'fɛ↓ ki sa wap refleʃi 100

But, I am kind of thinkinʒ about what to do."__"What are you thinking

le'nò↓ u pa kõn sa kap rivew mõ'ʃɛ↑ 101

(about) Lenor? Don't you know what is going to happen to you, my dear?

wap pɛdü travaju nă bulă'ʒria↓ travaj sepa bagaj 102

You are going to lose your job at the bakery. Work is not a thing

mũn ʒwẽn fasil 'nõ↓ u pa wɛ dɛnje mũn dövă le'gliz→ 103

people find easily. Don't you see everybody, in front of (the) church

kate'dral→ ap lümẽ bu'ʒi→ mũn dö bra lõ'ʒe→ tut 104

(the) Cathedral, lighting candles, people with two stretched arms, all

dövă dɛnje 'kwa→ sẽtalek'sãn→ tupa'tu→ ap mãde 105

in front of all crosses, at Saint Alexander, everywhere, asking for

tra'vaj↑ lœ lösejœ baw õ tra'vaj→ sepu kapab fɛ travajla 'ẇi↓ 106

work. When the Lord gives you a job, you must be able to do the job,

paskö li gẽ õ kătite lòt pi'tit→ kap mădel travaj 'wi↓ alò→ 107

because he has many other children who are asking him for work. Then,

si u betize nă tra'vajla→ u pɛdü tra'vajla→ ubjẽ u 108

if you blunder in the job, (and) you lose the job, or you are (the)

lakòz jo 'ɗiw→ fut u dejò nă tra'vajla→ li gẽ õ lòt pitit 109

cause (that) they tell you to get out of the job, he has another child

pu li baj tra'vaj→ li pa ka okűpew tusŵit ãkò 'nõ↓ bõ 110

to give (a) job, he cannot take care of you again immediately. Well,

a'lò→ sal 'je↓ wap kite tra'vajla→ wap ʃɛʃe õ ti 111

then, what is it? You will quit the job, you will look for a little

ʃɛz 'ba→ fãmu ap mete ʃömizdönŵi 'ròz→ wap prã 112

low chair, your woman will be wearing pink night gowns, you will take

ti 'ʃɛzla→ epi wap ʃita dövã kabãnnã pu 113

the little chair, and you will sit in front of the bed in order to

veje 'fãmnã→ pu vakabõ pa wetel nã 'mẽw↑ 114

watch the woman, for hoodlums not to take her away from your hands?

mẽ u pa kõ'nẽ→ lœ u pa gẽ pẽ pu po'te→ pu dõ 115

But you don't know, when you do not have bread tc bring, for the two

timũnjo ki ãde'dãã→ lœ u pa gẽ laʒã pu pot ba 116

children who are inside, when you do not have money to take to the

'fãmnã→ se lœsaa fãmnã ap kõmãse baw pro'blɛm↓ se 117

woman, it is the time the woman will begin to give you problems. It is

dõk travajla kap kẽbe 'fãmnã↓ u pa kɔ̃n õ paròl ki 118

then the job that is keeping the woman. Don't you know a proverb that

'diw→ bõʒu ma'dãm→ se msjõ ki 'la↑ 119

tells you: 'Good morning Madame (means) it is Mister who is there'.

mẽ fò msjõ kapab tu vo kiʃoj↓ fò msjõ kapab 120

But Mister must be able to be worth something. Mister must be able

pot laʒã la'kaj↓ u pa ka'pab→ lœ samdi ri've→ parɛt su 121
to bring money home. You can't, when Saturday arrives, appear before

'famnã→ mẽw 'vid→ ak dõ rã 'dãu→ epi u espere 122
the woman, your hands empty, with your two rows of teeth, and hope

kõ fãmnã ta re'te→ laa 'mẽm→ wap veje 'li→ pu 123
that the woman would stay, right there, you are watching her, for

vakabõ pa vin 'prãl↓ e fãmnã limẽm 'tuuu→ lœ 124
hoodlums not to take her. And (what about) the woman herself too? When

u gẽ õ bɛl 'fãm→ u dwe kõnẽ kõ bɛl fãm vle di 125
you have a beautiful woman, you must know that a beautiful woman means

la'ʒã↓ laʒã vle di tra'vaj↓ si u pa ret nã tra'vaju→ fãmnã 126
money, money means work. If you don't stay in your job, the woman

limẽm ap ʃɛʃe õ mũn ki nã tra'vaj↓ pu pote laʒã ba 'li↓ 127
herself will look for a person who is in a job to bring money to her

pa'skõ→ tut bɛl figü u wɛ lap ba 'ua→ tut 128
because all the beautiful face you see her showing to you, all the

bɛl dã blãʃ lap mõ'trewjo→ se paskõ kœl 129
beautiful white teeth she is showing you, it is because her heart

kõ'tã↓ u pa tãde ʃatea 'di→ gẽ twa bagaj 130
is happy. Haven't you heard the song says: 'There are three things

ki fɛ jõ nõm kẽbe 'fãmli↑ laʒã 'jõn→ karɛs 'dõ→ dòmĩ ko'le↓ 131
that make a man keep his woman: money one, caress two, sleeping close.

u pa wɛ se laʒã ki vin a'vã↑ a'lò→ sepu u tunẽ nã 132

Don't you see it is money that comes first? Then you must return to

tra'vaju↓ a nŏvœ dü'swa→ sepu u mare 'kœu→ pu 133

your job. At nine o'clock at night, you must tighten your heart, for

u ale nã tra'vaju↓ ẽ'bẽ→ m̩ pa kõnẽ si nõm nã bulã'ʒria→ 134

you to go to your work."__"Well, I don't know if the man at the bakery

ta vle bal õ travaj pu 'mwẽ↓ u ta fɛ fãmnã ale 135

would like to give her a job for me."__"Would you make the woman go

travaj nã bulã'ʒria↑ pu u kãpe pu ve'jeli↑ alò u ta 136

to work in the bakery, for you to stand to watch her? You would then

prõmje ga'sõ→ ki rẽmẽ õ fãm kõ 'sa↓ nɛg lœ saa 137

be the first man who loves a woman like that. Guys at that moment

ta wɛ ʒã u rẽmẽ 'fãmsaa→ jo ta kɔ̃nẽ fãmnã dwe 138

would see how you love that woman, they would know the woman must

gẽ õ bagaj nã 'li→ kö lòt fãm pa gẽ'ǰẽ↓ nɛg ta vide 139

have something in her, that other women don't have. Guys would fall

su 'fãmsaa→ pu jo wetel nã 'mẽw↓ lenò ga'de→ map di 140

on that woman to take her away from you. Lenor, look, I am telling

u õ ba'gaj→ lœ u gade 'mõtɯ→ wa wɛl 141

you something. When you look at your watch, you will see (that it is)

katòz œ 'wi↓ fãm se lafĩmẽ 'wi↓ u pa ka fɛmẽ lafĩmẽ ãndã 142

fourteen o'clock. Woman are (like) smoke. You can't shut smoke inside

ɔ̃ kaj 'nɔ̃↓ piga m̩ wɛw vin krije isit tãku timũn 'nɔ̃↓ 143

(of) a house. Don't let me see you come to cry here like a child. My

mõ'ʃɛ→ ale kẽbe tra'vaju↓ pu u ka kẽbe 'fãmnã↓ 144

friend, go to keep your work, in order to be able to keep the woman.

paskɔ̃ se õ bɔ̃ parɔl 'wi→ m̩ diw 'laa↓ jo kɔ̃n diw 145

Because this is a good word I am telling you. They usually tell you

buʃ grã mũn sã'ti→ mẽ paroljo pa sã'ti↓ ale kẽbe 146

old people's mouths smell, but their words don't smell. Go and keep

travajla le'nɔ↓ 147

the job, Lenor."

Comments

Acolas Dorneval is the prototype of the native wise-man, probably of a certain age, to whom many people have recourse when they are in need of advice, and whom everybody respectfully call /'mɛt/, a title reserved to intellectuals, teachers, lawyers, etc. In search for advice we find /'bòs/ Lenor. /'bòs/ is an appellation reserved to handymen, tradesmen, blue collar workers etc. The description of Acolas' linguistic fluency, as made by the narrator, can be taken as an indication of the recognition given by Haitians to good speech. Here are some of the remarks:

Line 3: "As soon as he opened his mouth you had to listen"

Lines 3 - 4: "Creole is a thing he knew how to speak"

Lines 5 - 6: "Everything he said was something to think over"

The reasons given by the narrator to stop-by to visit Acolas, in lines 8 to 11, are truly a testimony of the importance of family friendship in Haitian society. Notice also the courteous treatment granted to Maurice, but denied to Lenor. Haitians are very touchy about politeness and manners, and one thing Lenor did that should always be avoided in Haiti, is to arrive when people are getting ready to eat. A reader may think from the story that members of the /'bòs/ category are ill-mannered. I don't believe this to be true.

Lenor's speech is rendered timid and hesitant because he feels unimportant in front of Acolas whom he calls always /'mɛt/, and of the narrator whom he calls /m̩'sjŏ/, while everybody calls him plainly Lenor, after Acolas used /'bòs/ only once, at the beginning. We obviously have a conversation that Acolas wanted to cut short. First, the cold welcome Lenor receives at his arrival (line 18 - 19) when after saying "Good morning", he is just looked at, and answered "oh! Boss Lenor, well!", then the use of the expression /kũmã sa 'je+/ "how is it going?" found at the end of line 19, sometimes shortened as

/kũmã 'sa+/

and always considered as a contemptuous way of asking "how are you?", both were meant as hints to Lenor that he was not welcome. Lenor's speech is respectful to the point of being servile. For example, on line 41, he feels too timid to say:

/m̩ kõnẽ 'li / "I know him",

when asked if he knew the narrator. He uses a weaker: /m̩ rŏkonɛt 'li/ that really means "I have seen him around, but I am not lucky enough to know him".
This, added to his insistance at being served a meal, is an invitation to both Acolas and the narrator to look down on him. Acolas, however, is glad to give Lenor the advice requested. He does it in a metaphorical style, in a long speech providing us with much information about the religious character of the people (lines 103 - 110), while, at the same time, painting a realistic picture of the chronic state of unemployment of the country.

This part of the conversation between Acolas and Lenor has some idiomatic expressions or proverbs that will be clearer after they are interpreted.

Line 89 - 90: /fɔ̃ u pa fɛ zòrɛju pi lõg pase 'tɛt+/

"One must not refuse to recognize the truth."

Line 91:	/sa buʃ 'di→ se nà koe li sò'ti↓/
	The mouth says what comes from the heart.
Line 119:	/bõʒu ma'dam→ se ɱsjö ki'la↓/
	There is no wife without a husband
Line 146:	/buʃ grã mũn sã'ti→ mẽ paroljo pa sã'ti↓/
	Old people are wise

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